LUKE-ACTS: A DEFENSE AGAINST GNOSTICISM

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Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate School of Vanderbilt University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
Religion

June, 1963
Nashville, Tennessee

Approved:	Date:
Leander E Keck	May 13, 1963
Kendrick Grobel	May 13, 1963

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This dissertation would not have been possible had it not been for a great host of people. Several of them deserve an explicit word of appreciation.

First, to my faculty, especially to Professors Keck and Grobel, I owe so much. Without their stimulation, aid, and assistance throughout my graduate days, the present work would have never been attempted.

Second, to the library staff of the Religion and Reserve Sections of the Joint Universities Library, whose patient and persistent help were invaluable, goes my sincere thanks.

Third, to my parents, whose undergirding in every way sustained me in the long years of academic preparation, I owe an unpayable debt of gratitude. Only they know the extent of their sacrifice.

Finally, but by no means least, my wife deserves a word of appreciation. A faithful companion in stress and discouragement, she has continually kept before me both the distinction and the connection between my role as historian and theologian.

To these, along with so many unnamed others, I wish to express my deepest appreciation.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

AJT,	The American Journal of Theology
ATR,	Anglican Theological Review
B,	Biblica
BA,	The Biblical Archaeologist
BC,	*The Beginnings of Christianity*, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (London: Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1920-33), Part I: *The Acts of the Apostles*, 5 vols.
BJRL,	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
BW,	The Biblical World
CBQ,	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly
CH,	Church History
CQR,	The Church Quarterly Review
CTM,	Concordia Theological Monthly
E,	The Expositor
EB,	*Encyclopedia Biblica*, ed. T. K. Cheyne and J. Sutherland Black (New York: Macmillan Co., 1899-1903).
ERE,	*Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924-27).
Evang. *Th*.,	Evangelische Theologie
ET,	The Expository Times
G,	Gnomon
HJ,	The Hibbert Journal
HTR,	The Harvard Theological Review
HUCA,	Hebrew Union College Annual
I,	Interpretation

IB,	*The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury, 1951-57).
JAOS,	The Journal of the American Oriental Society
JBL,	Journal of Biblical Literature
JBR,	The Journal of Bible and Religion
JE,	*The Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. Isidore Singer (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1901-06).
JEH,	The Journal of Ecclesiastical History
JQR,	The Jewish Quarterly Review
JR,	The Journal of Religion
JTS,	The Journal of Theological Studies
NT,	Novum Testamentum
NTS,	New Testament Studies
PTR,	The Princeton Theological Review
RE,	The Review and Expositor
RGG,	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, hrsg. Kurt Galling (3. Auflage; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1957).
RHPR,	Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
RL,	Religion in Life
SHE,	*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, ed. Samuel Macauley Jackson (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1908-12).
ST,	Studia Theologica
TLZ,	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TR,	Theologische Rundschau
TT,	Theologisch Tijdschrift
USR,	Union Seminary Quarterly Review

VC,	Vigilae Christianae
VT,	Vetus Testamentum
WTJ,	The Westminster Theological Journal
ZAW,	Zeitschrift fuer die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZNW,	Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZTK,	Zeitschrift fuer Theologie und Kirche

INTRODUCTION

"It would not be far wrong to say that the focus of New Testament studies is now moving to the Lucan writings."[1] These words of C. K. Barrett accurately reflect the complexion of contemporary New Testament research.

Of all the problems connected with the Lucan writings, none is more crucial than that of the purpose of their author.

> The purpose of the writer has always been a central problem in the critical study of Acts. How a critic understands this purpose determines in large measure the *date* he assigns the book, his acceptance or rejection of Lucan *authorship*, and his estimate of the book as substantially *reliable* or hopelessly *inaccurate* . . . . The criticism of Acts remains "*sub judice*" because no compelling statement of its purpose commands widespread assent.[2] (Italics mine.)

It is strange, therefore, that so little has been done in this century towards establishing the purpose of the Lucan literature.[3] Because of the importance of the delineation of Luke's purpose for the over-all study of Luke-Acts, and because of the absence of ample up-to-date research on this problem, the present work is fully justified.

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[1] Charles Kingsley Barrett, *Luke the Historian in Recent Study* (London: Epworth Press, 1961), p. 50. Cited hereafter as *L. H. R. S.*

[2] Albert C. Winn, "Elusive Mystery: The Purpose of Acts," *I*, XIII (1959), 144. Cited hereafter as "Elus. Mys."

[3] W. C. van Unnik has only recently lamented this very fact ("The 'Book of Acts': The Confirmation of the Gospel," *NT*, IV [1960], 28-29. Cited hereafter as "Cnfm. Gos."). Johannes Weiss' slender volume climaxed the research of last century on the purpose of Acts (*Ueber die Absicht und den literarischen Character der Apostelgeschichte* [Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1897]. Cited hereafter as *Absicht*.). Though much has been written about the purpose

The object of this dissertation is simply and solely to present and defend the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic purpose. The present work neither aims nor claims to explain every Lucan peculiarity, though it certainly does deal with the major emphases of Luke and Acts in one way or another. Nor is the object of this thesis to undertake the further task of exploring the place of Luke-Acts in the total churchly opposition to Gnosis either before, at, or after its time. The only occasion for investigation of other anti-Gnostic literature will be when such an investigation contributes directly to the defense of the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim. This dissertation is concerned only to establish the probability that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic purpose.

This dissertation will rest upon four assumptions: (1) that the date of the composition of Luke-Acts lies in the

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of the Lucan writings in this century (chap. i), it is only with the work of Hans Conzelmann that the subject has returned to the center of the concerns of research. (The Theology of St. Luke, trans. Geoffrey Buswell [New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1960]. Cited hereafter as Theol. Lk.)

last quarter of the first Christian century,[4] (2) that the geographical locale from which it emerged is the environs of the Aegean Sea,[5] (3) that the identity of the author is irrelevant for the matter of purpose,[6] (4) that Luke-Acts is a theological document written with a definite practical intent.[7] That these assumptions are not radical departures but rather stand not far from the main stream of contemporary research should be evident to the knowledgeable reader.

The argument will unfold in four chapters. In Chapter One we will focus upon the purpose of the Lucan writings in past research. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. In the first place, it will give a synopsis of past scholarly efforts in the area of the Lucan purpose. In the second place, it will offer a brief evaluation of the various types of solution offered by critical scholarship. By means of this summary and evaluation the reader will be led to see the need for a fresh analysis of the Lucan tendency and occasion. The chapter concludes by offering for further consideration the suggestion that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim.

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[4] Suggestions for a date for the Lucan writings range all the way from the 60's to near 150 A.D. This variety can be seen in our first chapter. There the reader can also find arguments in favor of a date in the last quarter of the first century.

[5] Suggestions for a place of origin for the Lucan literature fall into three camps: (1) Rome, (2) Antioch, (3) the Aegean basin. In favor of the Aegean basin are the arguments that: (1) the anti-Marcionite prologue says so, (2) the similarity between Acts and the Pastorals, (3) the centrality of Aegean Christianity, especially Ephesus, in Acts, (4) the fact that Antioch and Rome already have Gospels, Mark and Matthew, (5) the harmony of the internal evidence with this assumption, (6) the weakness of the arguments for the other two locales.

[6] The identity of the author is crucial for the question of the historicity of Acts. It makes little difference, however, whether Luke is the author or not when we examine the author's use of his sources to determine his theology and when we examine the character of Aegean Christianity near A.D. 100. The author will be referred to throughout this thesis as Luke. This does not intend to prejudice the case either way.

[7] Barrett, L. H. R. S., p. 51, says that though Luke does not measure up to Paul and John he is to be considered one of the preachers or theologians of the New Testament.

The second chapter deals with the common purpose of Luke and Acts. Assuming a common author for the two Lucan writings, this chapter aims to show that the two volumes also have a common purpose. Two arguments are used to establish the common purpose of Luke and Acts. In the first instance, there is an appeal to certain of the speeches of Acts which, it is argued, reflect the Lucan mind. These speeches show that for Luke the story of Jesus cannot be separated from the witness of the apostles. The Third Gospel, therefore, implies the Acts. The two volumes are part of one over-all plan. In the second instance, there is an appeal to the structure of Luke and Acts which, it is argued, also reveals the author's mind. This investigation shows that the same structural design dominates the author's selection and arrangement of his material in both Luke 4:16-24:53 and Acts. Appendix One shows that the same scheme governed the Evangelist's structure in Luke 1:5-4:15. Since the same tendency is seen ordering the material in both the Gospel and the Acts, a common occasion, and therefore a common purpose, should be assumed for the two volumes. These two arguments, then, lead us to conclude that we should think in terms of a common purpose for Luke and Acts.

Having established the need for a fresh examination of the Lucan purpose and having shown that a common purpose should be considered for Luke and Acts, the dissertation moves in Chapter Three to a consideration of the Gnostic problem. The purpose of this chapter is twofold. On the one hand, it will define Gnosticism as it will be used in this thesis. By Gnosticism we mean that Christian heresy which subverted Christian tradition with its anti-cosmic attitude. On the other hand, it will attempt to show that Aegean Christianity was troubled with a Gnostic problem during the period in which Luke-Acts was written. If this can be demonstrated, then Gnosticism may be considered a live possibility as the occasion of the Lucan writings.

If Gnosticism was a real problem for Aegean Christianity when Luke-Acts was written, the text of Luke-Acts should be examined to discern whether its tendency can be seen in relation to this Gnostic problem. Three Lucan motifs argue for the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic purpose. The themes of authentic witness, legitimate exegesis of Scripture, and guarded succession of tradition all give substance to the claim that Luke-Acts is a defense against Gnosticism. When this tendency of the Lucan literature is compared with that of known anti-Gnostic writings of its period, the Pastorals on the one hand and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles on the other, the remarkable similarity of response to Gnosticism confirms our initial conclusion. Luke-Acts is a defense against Gnosticism. Appendix Two treats a series of miscellaneous questions relating to Chapter Four which could not be discussed in the body of the chapter without disrupting the thrust of the argument. In it are various strands of evidence in favor of our thesis, various objections to our thesis together with an explanation for the seemingly hostile evidence, and a tentative identification of the Gnosticism deduced from Luke-Acts and the Gnosis reflected in the Pastorals.

The Conclusion of this dissertation consists of two parts. First, there is a brief summary of our conclusions. Second, there is a series of five questions which have been raised by the present study. These questions lead to the necessity for further research. It is here that we can see some of the ramifications of this thesis, granted its probability.

Having introduced the problem of this dissertation, it is now time to move into the detailed discussion of our argument. Chapter One will concern itself with the purpose of Luke-Acts in past research.

CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF LUKE-ACTS IN PAST RESEARCH

This chapter is concerned with the efforts of past research to delineate the purpose of the Lucan writings. Its aim is twofold: (1) to summarize the several basic positions that have been taken by scholars, and (2) to evaluate their adequacy. Before this task can be undertaken, however, two preliminary questions must be treated.

On the one hand, it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by the purpose of a document. The quest for the purpose of a writing involves a twofold search. In the first place, the scholar attempts to discern the dominant motifs and themes of the document in order to discover its tendency. In the second place, he attempts to understand the milieu of the document in order to find its occasion. When the tendency of a writing is related to its environment so that its occasion becomes clear, then it is possible to speak of its purpose. The statement of a document's purpose is the result of relating its tendency and its occasion.

In this light, a large number of supposed statements of the purpose of Luke-Acts are not statements of purpose at all. To say that Acts is the Gospel of the Holy Spirit,[1] that its purpose is to describe what the risen Lord did for his Church through the apostles,[2] or that Luke's primary purpose in writing Acts was to record the expansion of Christianity from Jerusalem to Rome,[3] is no more a statement of Luke's purpose than to say that Luke-Acts was written so that Theophilus might know the truth about Christianity,[4] that the object of Luke-Acts is to prove that our Lord is the divine Savior and to demonstrate his power in his life and in the working of the Spirit,[5] or that the aim of Luke is to depict what Jesus began to do and teach while that of Acts is to depict what Jesus went on doing and teaching.[6] Along with such claims as that which sees the purpose of the Third Gospel and the Acts as that of recording events as the fulfillment of the Old Testament[7] and that which sees the aim of Luke as that of expressing the themes of Christian preaching,[8] these supposed statements of the Lucan purpose have performed only half the task, that of examination of the document to discern its themes. Only when one answers the question as to why Luke produced a writing with these motifs, relating themes with occasion, does he treat the question of purpose.[9] In this chapter, therefore, only those efforts of past research on Luke-Acts which have really dealt with the purpose of the Lucan writings will be considered.[10]

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[1] A. Ehrhardt, "Construction and Purpose of the Acts of the Apostles," *ST*, XII (1958), 67.

[2] Bo Reicke, "The Risen Lord and His Church: The Theology of Acts," *I*, XIII (1959), 157.

[3] Archibald M. Hunter, *Interpreting the New Testament 1900-1950* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1951), p. 111. Cited hereafter as *Int. N. T.*

[4] Samuel Antoine Cartledge, *A Conservative Introduction to the New Testament* (7th ed.; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957), p. 101.

[5] Adolf Harnack, *New Testament Studies*, Vol. I: *Luke the Physician*, trans. J. R. Wilkinson, ed. W. D. Morrison ("Crown Theological Library, "XIX; London: Williams & Norgate, 1907), 165.

[6] James Maurice Wilson, *The Origin and Aim of the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1912), p. 3.

[7] Otto Piper, "The Purpose of Luke," *USR*, LVII (1945), 15-25.

On the other hand, it is necessary to delineate the points at which past research can be effectively evaluated.

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[8] Martin Dibelius, Studies in the Acts of the Apostles, trans. Mary Ling and Paul Schubert, ed. Heinrich Greeven (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1956), p. 134. Cited hereafter as Stud. A. A.

[9] This criterion eliminates the majority of commentaries on Luke and Acts.

[10] This chapter treats the past attempts to determine the purpose of the Lucan writings as though a single purpose were proposed by each scholar. The structure of this chapter is merely for the sake of convenience. Many, if not most, scholars feel that a multiple purpose is necessary to account for the various facets of the Lucan tendency. As a result, two or more of the six positions may be combined. A good example of this procedure may be seen in James Ironside Still's argument that Acts was written with a wary eye upon four problems: (1) ecclesiastical, (2) political, (3) domestic, (4) personal ("The Purpose and Plan of the Book of Acts," E, Series Eight, XIV [1917], 194-205). A modern example is Ernst Haenchen who sees two theological questions appearing in Acts: (1) that of the delay of the parousia, and (2) that of the freedom of the Gentile mission from the law (Die Apostelgeschichte ["Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament," 12. Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959], p. 84).

In light of our definition of purpose, two points emerge. In the first place, the convincing power of the proposed purpose will be directly proportional to the comprehensiveness of one's statement of the document's tendency. Anticipating the results of Chapter Two, we may say that no adequate statement of purpose can be made which treats the themes of only one of the volumes of the Lucan writings. In the second place, the convincing power of a proposed purpose will be directly proportional to the credibility of the historical reconstruction of the document's milieu. The two points, therefore, to which effective criticisms of any statement of the purpose of the Lucan writings must be addressed are those of tendency and occasion.

With this definition of purpose in mind and with these two points of effective criticism at hand, let us examine the major attempts of critical scholarship to determine the purpose of Luke-Acts. If we take the environmental factor as the basis of division, we find that past efforts fall into six clearly defined categories.[11]

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[11] This division, of course, is not quite exhaustive. It does, however, take into consideration all but a very few minor suggestions. One such proposal of the Lucan purpose is that of A. C. Winn ("Elus. Mys."). Winn argues that the rejection of the gospel by Israel according to the flesh posed a major theological problem for Jewish Christian and Gentile Christian alike. This is the problem of Theophilus and the circle he represents. Luke writes to reassure such people. Winn's suggestion leaves too many loose ends in the Lucan tendency and fails to give a convincing reconstruction of the Lucan context.

Those That Think Jewish Christianity Is the Occasion

Among those who think that Jewish Christianity forms the occasion for the Lucan writings two different approaches have been made. On the one hand, there is the approach made by Schneckenburger.[12] He regarded the purpose of Acts as different from that of the Third Gospel.[13] The Acts he dated after Paul's death but before the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, in the late sixties.[14] In Acts Schneckenburger found several important strands of evidence: (1) Peter and Paul were paralleled, (2) Paul had a direct call from the Lord, (3) Paul, in his private life, was an observer of the Law and was in complete harmony with the primitive community and the original apostles in a stand against the Jewish people, (4) the omissions in the Pauline history, whose mention would have given an essentially different picture of Paul, seem to be intended to turn aside Jewish prejudice, (5) the teaching of Paul seems to have the same intent.[15] These facts are true not only for Acts 13-28 but also for Acts 1-12.[16] This writing was directed to the Roman community which was predominantly

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[12] Matthias Schneckenburger, *Ueber den Zweck der Apostelgeschichte* (Bern: Christian Fischer, 1841). Cited hereafter as *Zweck Apg*.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 8-15. See pp. 66-67.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 226 ff.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 166-204.

Jewish Christian and which had an anti-Pauline tendency.[17] The central issue for the Roman Jewish Christians was the Pauline universalism, his preaching to the heathen. As Jews they practised an acknowledged religion. To win the heathen, however, was forbidden. What would Pauline Christianity do to their political position? To answer such questions as these, Luke wrote Acts giving an apologetic portrayal of Paul.[18]

On the other hand, there is the approach made by F. C. Baur.[19] Baur's understanding of the Lucan writings is also seen in relation to the problem of Jewish Christianity. His reconstruction of early Christian history, however, gave his statement an entirely different twist from that of Schneckenburger. Baur's view of early Christian history saw the Church's life unfolding in a Hegelian dialectic of thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.[20] The background of the Church's life was that of Jesus who combined in himself the inner spiritual essence and the outer nationalistic form.[21] The Jewish Christians, represented by Peter, appropriated the national side of Jesus' appearance and never surmounted their particularism. This group formed Baur's thesis. Paul, however, appropriated the other of the two elements in Jesus, the spiritual or universal principle.[22] He formed Baur's antithesis. In this way both parties found their origins in the life of the founder, Jesus.[23] The synthesis is seen in Irenaeus who declares that the Roman Church had been founded and ordered by the two greatest apostles, Peter and Paul. This synthesis is the Catholic Church. In it the disputes are settled, extremes omitted, and the authority of the two apostles is one.[24]

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[17] Ibid., pp. 241-42.

[18] Ibid., p. 244. Étienne Trocmé is a modern representative of a position very close to that of Schneckenburger. Trocmé argues that the author of Luke-Acts has attempted to defend Paul against the attacks of Jewish Christians, partisans of James, by presenting him as the sole continuer of the work of the Twelve. Written about 80-85 A.D., Luke-Acts was a statement of the spokesman for the group formed by the churches of Macedonia, Achaia, and Asia. It was aimed against the Jewish Christianity of the church of Alexandria. (Le "Livre des Actes" et l'histoire ["Etudes d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses"; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1957], pp. 67-75). Cited hereafter as Livre.

[19] Ferdinand Christian Baur, Paul: The Apostle of Jesus Christ, I, trans. E. Zeller (2d ed.; "Theological Translation Fund Library"; London: Williams & Norgate, 1873), cited hereafter as Paul. The Church History of the First Three Centuries, I, trans. and ed. Allan Menzies (3d ed.; "Theological Translation Fund Library"; London: Williams & Norgate, 1878). Cited hereafter as Ch. H.

Each of the New Testament and early Christian writings is dated and understood in accordance with its place in this over-all scheme. Thus, only four of the thirteen letters attributed to Paul are authentic, for only Galatians, I and II Corinthians, and Romans reflect this conflict between Paul and the Judaizers in its early stages.[25]

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[20] Henry Sylvester Nash, The History of the Higher Criticism of the New Testament (New York: Macmillan Co., 1900), pp. 121, 131.

[21] Baur, Ch. H., pp. 30, 38.

[22] Ibid., p. 49.

[23] Ibid., p. 50.

[24] Ibid., p. 148.

After Paul's death, there are instances of a continuing struggle. Next to the four authentic epistles of Paul, the purest expression of Paulinism we possess is the Gospel of Luke.[26] In this Gospel written after A.D. 70, we find an historical justification for Pauline universalism.[27] The Pauline spirit, therefore, lived on in his faithful adherents after his death. In the Apocalypse of John we see the opponents of Paulinism represented in this period.[28] The struggle continued.

In other writings, however, there is evidence of a softening of extremes and of a movement towards reconciliation. In Ephesians and Colossians,[29] Philippians,[30] and the Pastoral Epistles,[31] we see a modified Paulinism. In Hebrews,[32] James,[33] and I Peter[34] can be seen a softening

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[25] Baur, Paul, I, 256.

[26] Baur, Ch. H., p. 78.

[27] Ibid., p. 81. The universalistic note is certainly present in Luke. See Martin Kiddle, "The Admission of the Gentiles in St. Luke's Gospel and Acts," JTS, XXXVI (1935), 160-73.

[28] Baur, Ch. H., p. 84 ff.

[29] Ibid., p. 122.

[30] Ibid., p. 126.

[31] Ibid., p. 127.

[32] Ibid., p. 115.

[33] Ibid., p. 129.

[34] Ibid., p. 130.

Jewish Christianity. The union of the two parties was not possible, however, until the agreement could be understood as something Peter and Paul had themselves realized.[35] This is the point at which Acts finds its place in Baur's scheme. Acts is an attempt at conciliation, an overture of peace. It is the work of a member of the Pauline party. He desired to purchase recognition for Pauline or Gentile Christianity. He did this by making such concessions on his side as were necessary to parallel the two apostles.[36] In this way he carried the solution of his day back into apostolic times.[37] The purpose of Acts is the reconciliation of Pauline and Jewish Christianity.

For Baur, therefore, Luke and Acts have different purposes, though both are directed to or against Jewish Christianity. On the one hand, the Gospel was written in the post-70 A.D. period in the interests of a still vigorous Paulinism. The Gospel is still the antithesis of Jewish Christianity. On the other hand, Acts was written in the early second century by a Paulinist but in the interests of a reconciliation with Jewish Christianity. Acts is an attempt at synthesis.[38]

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[35] Ibid., pp. 131-32.

[36] Ibid., p. 135. Baur acknowledges his debt to Schneckenburger (Paul, I, 6).

[37] Baur, Ch. H., pp. 132-33.

[38] The most comprehensive treatment of Acts by a disciple of Baur is that of Edward Zeller, The Acts of the

Having summarized the two basic approaches of those

Apostles, trans, Joseph Dare (2 vols.; London: Williams & Norgate, 1875-76). Though he holds Luke and Acts are the work of a single author (II, 213-54), Zeller does not think they have a common purpose (II, 111-12). Acts is dated in the second or third decade of the second century (II, 278), perhaps A.D. 110-125 (II, 282). Its object is the reconciliation of the Jewish Christian and Pauline parties (II, 161). Its author was a Paulinist (II, 141). He clings to the essential element of his Paulinism, that is, universalism (II, 153). Beyond this, however, he engages in mutual concessions (II, 149). The tendency of Acts, therefore, is conciliatory. It is an attempt at mediation between Paulinists and Jewish Christians (II, 154). Cited hereafter as Zeller, *Acts*.

Our day is witnessing a revival of the Tuebingen view of early Christian history. Among those who fall into this category are: (1) S.G.F. Brandon, *The Fall of Jerusalem and the Christian Church* (London: SPCK, 1951 [Cited hereafter as *Fall*.]), (2) Maurice Goguel, *The Birth of Christianity*, trans. H. C. Snape (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954 [Cited hereafter as *Birth*.], (3) Archibald Robertson, *The Origins of Christianity* (New York: International Publishers, 1954), (4) Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Paul: The Theology of the Apostle in the Light of Jewish Religious History*, trans. Harold Knight (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961 [Cited hereafter as *Paul*.]). Not all of the neo-Tuebingen critics take the same position regarding the purpose of Luke and Acts. The different shades of interpretation may be seen by a statement of the positions of Robertson and Brandon.

Robertson dates Luke-Acts under Nerva or Trajan (*op. cit.*, pp. 165-66). The author is a Paulinist (p. 168). His aim is to cement the union of Pauline and Petrine Christians in one Church by giving an account of Christian origins that would please everybody (p. 168). The Lucan writings, therefore, are in the interest of a reconciliation between Pauline and Jewish Christianity (p. 169).

Brandon thinks that the power of Jewish Christianity was broken by the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70 (*Fall*, pp. 180-83). One of the most significant developments *within* the Church which resulted from this fact was the rehabilitation of Paul (p. 216). This rehabilitation took two forms. On the one hand, Mark and the collection of Paul's letters represent the truer appreciation of the issues involved. On the other hand, Acts presents an idealized portrait which weakens the issues (p. 216). Acts, therefore, is a notable monument to the restoration of the prestige of Paul which resulted from the destruction of Jerusalem (p. 213).

who regard Jewish Christianity as the occasion for the Lucan writings, it now becomes our task to evaluate them. Let us take Schneckenburger first. Our response to his approach must deal with both tendency and occasion. On the one hand, two things have to be said about Schneckenburger's concept of the Lucan tendency. Positively, he is correct in discerning a parallelism between Peter and Paul in Acts.[39] Negatively, however, he is in error in rejecting the theological unity of Luke-Acts.[40] His rejection of a common purpose for the Third Gospel and Acts means that his analysis of the Lucan tendency lacks comprehensiveness. On the other hand, Schneckenburger's concept of the occasion for the Lucan writings is unconvincing. A date in the sixties is unlikely. If, as is certainly the case, Luke used Mark as a source, and if, as chapter two will show, Luke and Acts were written at the same time, then they must date after A.D. 70.[41] Moreover, the Church at Rome in Paul's lifetime was not predominantly Jewish Christian, but rather predominantly Gentile.[42] It is, therefore, impossible to connect the writing of Luke-Acts with Jewish Christian opposition to Paul in Rome in the late sixties. In both tendency and occasion, then, the approach of Schneckenburger is found to be untenable.

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[39] See Chap. II, pp. 78ff.

[40] See Chap. II.

[41] Mark is usually dated near A.D. 70. See Vincent Taylor, The Gospel According to St. Mark (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1955), pp. 31-32.

[42] James Moffatt, An Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament (3d ed. rev.; "International Theological Library"; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1918), pp. 146-47. Cited hereafter as Intro.

What shall we say to the approach of Baur? Do we find it more credible than that of Schneckenburger? On the one hand, our response to Baur's analysis of the Lucan tendency is the same as to that of Schneckenburger. There is a parallelism between Peter and Paul. It is erroneous, however, to separate Luke from Acts as regards their purpose. On the other hand, Baur's historical reconstruction of early Christianity is unconvincing. Over the years it has been subjected to numerous criticisms, some literary, others historical. On the literary side, the late dates for most of the New Testament documents have been rejected. For example, the modern scholar may accept seven to ten of the Pauline letters as authentic.[43] Though this opens the door to possible diversity of problems in the apostolic age, it does not discredit the entire reconstruction.[44] On the historical side, however, the criticisms have been more erosive. They focus upon the two sides of Baur's reconstruction, on Jewish and Pauline Christianity. The criticisms against Baur's antithesis emphasize the diversity of Gentile Christianity. Advocates of both a pre-Pauline Gentile Christianity and of a non-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity parallel to Paul undermine the assumption that Gentile Christianity equals Pauline Christianity.[45] The criticisms of Baur's thesis play down the importance of Jewish Christianity for early Christian history. This may take three forms. First, the diversity of Jewish Christianity is emphasized so that the nomistic distortion of Christianity which Baur had equated with Jewish Christianity is seen to be but one among several streams of Jewish Christianity.[46] Second, it is claimed that primitive Jewish

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[43] Burnett Hillman Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1925), p. 541, states, "The first to expose the brilliant fallacies of Tuebingen was Renan in his book *The Apostles*, 1866." Cited hereafter as *Four G.* Streeter is followed in this judgment by A. M. Hunter (*Int. N. T.*, p. 105) who also states that Lightfoot did a great deal to confute Baur. A reading of Renan and Lightfoot reveals, however, that their response to Baur focused primarily on the matter of dating.

[44] In the introduction that he wrote for Martin

Werner, The Formation of Christian Dogma, trans. S. G. F. Brandon (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1957), p. x, Brandon points out that though the tendency has been to regard the defect of Tuebingen's late dates as discrediting the thesis as a whole, the case can be stated without the support of the erroneous chronology. Cited hereafter as Formation.

[45] Adolf Harnack, New Testament Studies, Vol. III: The Acts of the Apostles, trans. J. R. Wilkinson ("Crown Theological Library," XXVII; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), pp. 281-82; Wilhelm Bousset, Kyrios Christos 2. Auflage; "Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments," Neue Folge, IV; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1921), p. 75; Wilhelm Heitmueller, "Zum Problem Paulus und Jesus," ZNW, XIII (1912), 320-37.

[46] Moritz Friedlaender, Der vorchristliche juedische Gnosticismus (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898), p. 40, argued that the picture in New Testament research should not be Jewish Christianity versus Pauline Christianity,

Christianity perished with the destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70.[47] It would, therefore, form no problem after the apostolic age. Third, it is argued that Jewish Christianity, as Baur defined it, did not form a major problem for Gentile Christianity even in the apostolic age.[48] The maximum result of these criticisms of Baur's reconstruction of early Christian history is to regard Jewish Christianity as of no importance for a diverse Gentile Christianity outside of Palestine. The minimum result is to regard Jewish Christianity as of little significance for a diverse Gentile

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but rather, conservative Jewish Christianity versus radical Jewish Christianity. A similar approach has been made by Oscar Cullmann, "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel," ET, LXXI (1959), 8-9. Cited hereafter as "New Appr." Morton Smith, "Pauline Problems: Apropos of J. Munck, 'Paul und die Heilsgeschichte,'" HTR, L (1957), 125-26, makes a criticism of Munck that applies also to Baur. He claims that Munck pays no attention to the variety of Judaism prior to A.D. 70 and the corresponding variety of early Christianity. W. D. Davies claims that it is probable that within the primitive community there were both Judaizers and liberals. The liberals, moreover, would be both like and unlike Paul (A Review of Paulus und die Heilsgeschichte, by Johannes Munck, NTS, II [1955], 71. Now reprinted in Christian Origins and Judaism [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1962], pp. 179-98). Ernest DeWitt Burton claims that the first Palestinian followers of Jesus were not yet opposed to the acceptance of the gospel by Gentiles. Things changed, however, when the older element of Galileans were joined by a group that retained their full Pharisaic intensity for the law. This latter group formed Paul's opponents ("Those Trouble-Makers in Galatia," BW, LIII [1919], 556).

[47] Johannes Munck, "Jewish Christianity in the Post-Apostolic Times," NTS, VI (1960), 107, 114; Brandon, Fall, pp. 180-83, and Formation, p. xi.

[48] Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, trans. Frank Clarke (Richmond, Virginia: John Knox Press, 1959). Cited hereafter as Paul S. M. For the many others, see chap. III, pp. 153-54.

Christianity after A.D. 70. In either case, these arguments preclude the possibility that Jewish Christianity was a serious problem in the Aegean basin in the last quarter of the first Christian century. In regard to both tendency and occasion, therefore, Baur's statement of the purpose of the Third Gospel and Acts is untenable.

Our evaluation of both approaches which would see the Lucan literature as a response to Jewish Christianity has shown this position to be one that will not stand examination. Luke and Acts were not written to deal with contemporary Jewish-Christianity. What then is the purpose of the Lucan literature? Some have argued that Luke and Acts were written to deal with a problem posed by the Roman government. It is to this position that we now turn.

Those That Think That the Roman Government Poses the Problem

A large number of scholars have thought that the Lucan writings were directed to the Roman state as an apology.[49] The particular form that the apology is thought to take depends upon the date assigned to the documents. Four different dates have been suggested.

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[49] This position was set forth as early as 1721. See Harald Sahlin, Der Messias und das Gottesvolk ("Acta Seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis," XII; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1945), p. 35. Cited hereafter as Mess. Gv. See also Henry J. Cadbury, "The Purpose Expressed in Luke's Preface," E, Series Eight, XXI (1921), 437.

Some scholars have dated Acts in the sixties and have regarded it as a defense for Paul's trial in Rome.[50] Perhaps the most recent exponent of this view is Sahlin.[51] His position is closely tied up with his understanding of the composition of Luke-Acts. Sahlin thinks that behind the canonical Lucan writings there lies a proto-Lucan document. It stood in a unified writing which is given by Luke 1:5-Acts 15, with the exception of later interpolations. This document was composed in Hebrew[52] and Aramaic.[53] Its author, a Jew converted to Christianity who was probably from Syria, is unknown. This Proto-Luke was translated into Greek and expanded by the addition of Luke 1:1-4 and the last half of Acts, plus various minor interpolations. This product formed a connected, unified document. It was then divided into two parts. The first part was given a rounded off conclusion[54] and the second part was given a new introduction.[55] The translator and reworker of Proto-Luke can very probably be identified with Luke, the companion of Paul.[56] This finished product arose somewhere between A.D. 60 and 65. Proto-Luke dates probably around A.D. 50.[57]

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[50] Richard Belward Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles* ("Westminster Commentaries"; London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1901), pp. xxxix, 1, considers Acts a defense for the Church addressed to the Roman authorities, the first of a long series of apologies. It was written before Paul was martyred in Rome. D. Plooij dates Acts where it ends and considers it as addressed to a high Roman official with the purpose of defending Paul at his trial ("The Work of St. Luke: A Historical Apology for Pauline Preaching before the Roman Court," *E*, Series Eight, VIII [1914], 511-23). His position is defended in "Again: The Work of St. Luke," *E*, Series Eight, XIII (1917), 108-24. George Simpson Duncan argues that Acts was written before Paul's trial in Rome as a statement which might reach those who would decide the apostle's fate (*Saint Paul's Ephesian Ministry* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1930], p. 97). Cited hereafter as *Eph. Min.*

[51] Sahlin, *Mess. Gv.* Also, *Studien zum dritten Kapitel des Lukasevangeliums* (Uppsala: Lundequistska Bokhandeln, 1949), especially pp. 134-39.

[52] Lk 1:5-3:7a.

[53] Lk 3:7b-Acts 15.

The end of Acts is certainly apologetic in tendency. The apology, moreover, is directed not against Jews but against possible Roman injustice. It stands in direct connection with the trial of Paul in Rome.[58] Since Luke-Acts was composed the way it was, the purpose of the last part of Acts is at the same time the purpose of the entirety of Luke-Acts.[59] By his translation and expansion of the Proto-Luke document, Luke had the intention of producing an apology for Paul for his trial in Rome.[60]

The Lucan writings have also been dated in the seventies and held to be an apology to the Roman state. This is the position of T. W. Manson.[61] Manson regards the Lucan writings as a unity.[62] This unity is the first deliberate attempt to write a history of Christianity intended for publication for the world outside the Church.[63] The occasion for this undertaking was the condition of Christians immediately after A.D. 70 and the disastrous revolt of the Jews against Rome. It was necessary to clear the Church of any suspicion of being mixed up with the Jewish rebellion.[64] The author wanted to say to the Roman government and people that Christians were not a part of the Jewish people at all and that Christians were politically innocent.[65]

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[54] Lk 24:50-53.

[55] Acts 1:1-5.

[56] Sahlin, *Mess. Gv.*, pp. 9-10.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[58] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[59] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[60] *Ibid.*, p. 55. Floyd V. Filson, A Review of *Der Messias und das Gottesvolk*, by H. Sahlin, *JR*, XXVII (1947), 58-59, thinks that Sahlin has constructed his argument out of so many doubtful components that the total result is without a firm basis.

[61] Thomas Walter Manson, "The Life of Jesus: A Survey

The majority of scholars who regard the Lucan documents as an apology to Rome date them toward the end of the first century.[66] As representative of this group of

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of Available Material. (3) The Work of St. Luke," BJRL, XXVIII (1944), 382-403. Reprinted in Studies in the Gospels and Epistles, ed. Matthew Black (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), pp. 46-67.

[62] Ibid., p. 382.

[63] Ibid., p. 389.

[64] Ibid., p. 398.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Weiss, Absicht. Weiss thinks that Acts is an apology for the Christian religion before the heathen against the accusations of the Jews. The charges are that Christians are disloyal to their mother religion and are a politically dangerous sect (p. 56). The answer given is that Christians are faithful to their heritage and are politically harmless (p. 58). Acts, therefore, is a defense document for Christianity about the turn of the first century (p. 59).

William M. Ramsay, St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1896). Ramsay dates Luke in the seventies and Acts in the nineties (p. 387). Acts he regards as composed under Domitian during a period scholars, we may consider the view of B. S. Easton.[67] Easton's position is that Luke wanted to demonstrate that Christianity should be tolerated by the state.[68] To accomplish this purpose, Luke used two lines of argument. On the one hand, he gave a long list of precedents in which various Roman officials had been favorably disposed toward Christianity.[69] On the other hand, he argued that Christians were simply one more Jewish party.[70] The testimony of both those within and without its membership confirm this fact.[71] Christianity is nothing more than a party within a "religio licita" and hence is entitled to all the rights and privileges of such a religion within the Roman state.[72] These

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of persecution when Christians were treated as outlaws. The book was a record of the Church's loyalty in the past and its firm resolve to accept the Roman power, of its friendly reception by many Romans, and of its triumphal vindication in the first great trial at Rome. Its purpose was to serve as an appeal to the truth against the immoral and ruinous policy of the reigning Emperor (p. 309). This volume has been reprinted in paperback form from the 3d edition by Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1960.

Donald W. Riddle also thinks that Domitian was the primary cause of the composition of the Lucan literature. Luke-Acts was an apology for the Christian faith in the context of the Domitianic persecution ("The Occasion of Luke-Acts," *JR*, X [1930], 545-62).

[67] Burton Scott Easton, *The Purpose of Acts* ("'Theology' Occasional Papers," VI; London: SPCK, 1936). Reprinted in *Early Christianity*, ed. F. C. Grant (Greenwich, Connecticut: Seabury Press, 1954), pp. 33-118.

[68] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[69] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[72] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

two arguments were used in the face of an impending persecution. The attempt, however, was a failure. This was primarily due to the fact that Paul had done his work too well. The Christians themselves did not believe they were just a Jewish party.[73] Because of this, the Roman government could not be persuaded.

In earlier days the Lucan literature was dated at the beginning of the second century when it was regarded as an apology.[74] This was due to the fact that it was felt that the occasion for this did not arise until the second century under Trajan when official trials of Christians first occurred in Asia Minor.[75] In response to these events of Trajan's time the author wrote a defense of Christianity to present at the bar of the Roman world power.[76] To accomplish this task, he wrote a history of early Christianity in such a way that it would not offend the Romans but rather impress them with the political innocence and loyalty of Christianity.[77]

Having summarized the various approaches of those who regard the Roman state as the occasion for the writing of the Lucan literature, it now becomes our task to evaluate this position. Our response to those who hold this position must deal with both tendency and occasion. On the one hand, two things have to be said about this position's concept of the Lucan tendency. Positively, it must be acknowledged that there is a political motif in Acts and possibly at the very end of the Third Gospel.[78] Negatively, it must be pointed out that this motif does not dominate the Lucan literature. It is absent from most of the Gospel.[79] The implication of this fact is stated succinctly by C. K. Barrett.

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[73] Ibid., p. 46.

[74] Otto Pfleiderer, Primitive Christianity, II, trans. W. Montgomery ("Theological Translation Library," XXVI; London: Williams & Norgate, 1909), pp. 298-99.

[75] Ibid., p. 298.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid., p. 296.

> To suggest that the book as a whole should be taken in this way is absurd. No Roman official would ever have filtered out so much of what to him would be theological and ecclesiastical rubbish in order to reach so tiny a grain of relevant apology.[80]

It would seem, therefore, that though the political motif is present, the Lucan tendency cannot be reduced to this theme alone.[81]

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[78] Acts 13:12; 16:39; 17:9; 18:16; 19:36-40; 23:29; 24:5, 23-27; 25:25; 28:30-31; Luke 23:4, 14, 22; 23:15; 23:47; 23:41.

[79] Apart from the preface, if such an interpretation for it be accepted, and the passion narrative, there does not seem to be further evidence for a political purpose in Luke's Gospel. Sahlin's theory of composition which is an attempt to deal with this difficulty is no more successful than the theories of Torrey before him. On Torrey, see chap. II, pp.

[80] Barrett, L. H. R. S., p. 63.

[81] The real issue is how the evidence is to be interpreted. It may very well be that Luke intended the motif of political innocence to be understood in some other way. Several

On the other hand, serious questions must be raised about the occasion proposed by this position. In the first place, neither a second century date nor a date in the sixties of the first century is satisfactory.[82] In the

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lines of evidence converge to make this probable. First, early Christianity had a Jerusalem-centered conception of eschatology (Joachim Jeremias, Jesus' Promise to the Nations ["Studies in Biblical Theology," XXIV; Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1958]), and it is likely that this conception, such as that found in Isaiah 2:1-4, influenced the account of the first Pentecost in Acts 2:1-13 (A. Causse, "Le mythe de la nouvelle Jérusalem du Deutéro-Esaie à la III^{e} Sibylle," RHPR, XVIII (1938), 377-414, and XX (1940), 120-41, especially 125). Second, the Lucan tendency includes several relevant items: (1) the missionary enterprise is regarded as a fulfillment of the Old Testament (Acts 13:47; 15:15-18; Lk 24:45-47), (2) the missionary enterprise is Jerusalem centered, (3) the centrality of Jerusalem in the missionary enterprise is a fulfillment of the Old Testament (Lk 24:45-47), (4) the missionary enterprise is not to be undertaken until the Spirit comes, fulfilling the hopes of the last days (Acts 1:8; 2:17). All of these factors can be understood against the background of a Jerusalem-centered hope such as that found in Isaiah 2:1-4. Third, Isaiah 2:1-4 was used by early Christianity. Justin Martyr (First Apology, 39) quotes the passage and interprets it as fulfilled in the life of the Church in two ways: (1) that twelve men went out from Jerusalem into the world and preached to men of every nation the word of God, (2) that Christians, who before their conversion once killed one another, no longer wage war against their enemies and even meet death to avoid wrong deeds. The appearance of this in Justin is significant in light of the links between Justin and Luke-Acts (J. C. O'Neill, The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting [London: SPCK, 1961], pp. 16-21). It is more than possible that the motif of political innocency in Acts should be combined with the Jerusalem-centered eschatological mission to the nations and both be seen as Luke's attempt to say that the hope of Isaiah 2:1-4 had been fulfilled in the life of the early Church.

[82] Besides the argument from Luke's use of Mark, we may also refer to Edgar J. Goodspeed, "The Date of Acts," E, Series Eight, XVII (1919), 387-91, for evidence against a date for Acts in the sixties. (Cited hereafter as "Date.") W. M. Ramsay answers conclusively the argument for the second

second place, there is no evidence that the concepts "religio licita" and "religio illicita," implying that a regular status of toleration was or was not accorded to specific religions, were legal concepts in the early Roman Empire.[83] They were formulated first by Tertullian, long after the time of Luke-Acts.[84]

It would appear from this examination that both the estimate of the Lucan tendency and that of the occasion for Luke-Acts postulated by this position are deficient. Luke-Acts was not composed for the purpose of being an apology to the Roman government. What then is the purpose of the Lucan literature? Others have argued that Luke and Acts were written to convert the non-Christian population of the Graeco-Roman world. It is to this claim that we now turn.

Those That Think the Unbelief of the Non-Christian Populace Is the Occasion

A number of reputable scholars have seen the unbelief

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century dating based on the assumption that there was no state persecution before Trajan (Pauline and Other Studies in Early Christian History [New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1906], pp. 192-96).

[83] Henry J. Cadbury, "Some Foibles of New Testament Scholarship," JBR, XXVI (1958), 215 (cited hereafter as "Foibles."); Hans Conzelmann, "Geschichte, Geschichtsbild und Geschichtsdarstellung bei Lukas," TLZ, LXXXV (1960), 244 (cited hereafter as "Gesch. G. G."); O'Neill, op. cit., p. 172, n. 1. For a summary of debate on the relation of Church and State in early Christianity, see A. N. Sherwin-White, "The Early Persecutions and Roman Law Again," JTS, New Series, III (1952), 199-213.

[84] Conzelmann, "Gesch. G. G.," 245.

of the non-Christian populace of the Graeco-Roman world as the occasion and have regarded the purpose of Luke and Acts as an evangelistic one. Here again the position varies slightly depending upon the date assigned to the documents.

F. F. Bruce would date Luke-Acts, which he regards as a theological unity,[85] a little earlier than the persecution of A.D. 64.[86] The work contains a definite apologetic motif.[87] This apology, however, is not directed to the Roman government in the trial of Paul. It is intended for the intelligent Roman public.[88] In fact, Theophilus was probably a representative of the cultured official middle class in Rome.[89] Some of these people were inquiring seriously into the antecedents and records of Christianity with a view to espousing its cause when Paul came to Rome in the early sixties to be judged before the imperial court over an issue which was intimately related to the progress of Christianity. To aid such people as these, Luke wrote his narrative of Christian beginnings.[90] The two volume work, therefore, was basically an evangelistic endeavor directed to the Roman public of the early sixties.

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[85] Frederick Fyvie Bruce, *Commentary on the Book of Acts* ("The New International Commentary on the New Testament"; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1956), pp. 18-19. Cited hereafter as *Com. B. A.*

[86] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. Also, Bruce, "The True Apostolic Succession," *I*, XIII (1959), 143 (cited hereafter as "True A. S."), and Bruce, *The Acts of the Apostles* (2d ed.; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1953), p. xi.

[87] Bruce, *Com. B. A.*, p. 20.

[88] *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

[89] Bruce, "True A. S.," p. 143.

[90] *Ibid.*

T. Zahn[91] dates Luke's work around A.D. 75. He thinks that Theophilus is a non-Christian,[92] cultured Gentile,[93] who has heard about the Christian faith and has become interested in its history.[94] Luke and Acts are designed to give Theophilus his first real knowledge.[95] The purpose of the author in so doing is to win approval from this Gentile who was outside the Church and gain him for Christianity.[96]

Among scholars who date Luke and Acts in the last two decades of the first century, we may find those who hold to an evangelistic purpose for the Lucan writings.[97]

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[91] Theodor Zahn, Introduction to the New Testament, III, trans. under supervision of Melancthon Williams Jacobus (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909). Reprinted in 3 vols. by Kregel Publications, Grand Rapids, 1953.

[92] Ibid., p. 43.

[93] Ibid., p. 61.

[94] Ibid., p. 62.

[95] Ibid., p. 43.

[96] Ibid., p. 69.

[97] L. E. Elliott-Binns, The Beginnings of Western Christendom (London: Lutterworth Press, 1948), p. 99, argues that since the Christian faith seems to have made some progress among members of the Roman aristocracy in the last two decades of the first century, it may be that Luke's reason for writing was to reach these people. The reason for thinking this is that the literary style of the Lucan literature would make it more acceptable for the cultured public than the rougher style of Mark. Also, Acts makes favorable mention of Roman officials and presents the Christian Church as something more than a Jewish sect. This made it well fitted for circulation among educated Romans.

James Ligon Price claims that, in part at least,

B. H. Streeter may be considered as representative.[98] Streeter dates Luke about A.D. 80-85 and Acts by A.D. 90.[99] The Lucan writings were composed to set the case for Christianity before the Roman aristocracy.[100] When Christianity began to reach this class of society, a demand would be generated for a life of the founder of the Church which would fit the literary tastes of educated circles and would indicate his universal significance.[101] The Gospel of Luke is an effort to answer this demand. Moreover, the Church could not be anything but despised if it was believed to be a brand of Judaism and a society of criminals. Acts is the answer to this problem. It tells the story of the Church so that Christianity is not a Jewish sect but a universal religion.[102] Also, it is portrayed as guiltless before the Roman law.[103] Luke and Acts, therefore, were the kind of literature needed to evangelize the Roman aristocracy.[104]

A recent attempt has been made by J. C. O'Neill to date Luke-Acts in the second century, about A.D. 115-130.[105]

Luke-Acts was written for those Gentiles known as "God-fearers" so that they would know the truth (*Interpreting the New Testament* [New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1961], p. 100).

[98] Streeter, *Four G.*

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 540.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 535.

[101] *Ibid.*, p. 537.

[102] *Ibid.*, p. 538.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 539.

[104] *Ibid.*

[105] O'Neill, *op. cit.*

This is done on the basis of parallels between Acts and Justin.[106] The repeated emphasis in Acts that Christianity was both politically innocent and religiously the fulfillment of Jewish expectations is not a legal argument. It is rather used to serve an evangelistic aim.[107] Luke's primary purpose was to preach the Gospel to unbelievers.[108] Who were these non-Christians? O'Neill thinks the Lucan writings were addressed to educated Romans.[109] Their purpose was to bring these unbelievers to the faith.[110]

Having summarized the various approaches of those who regard the unbelief of the non-Christian population of the Graeco-Roman world as the occasion for the Lucan literature, it now becomes our task to evaluate this position. Our response to this position must focus upon both the Lucan tendency and the occasion. On the one hand, the tendency of Luke and Acts seems to be defensive rather than evangelistic. Three facts point in this direction. First, Luke 1:4 seems to indicate that the author takes a knowledge of the kerygma for granted.[111] Second, Luke apparently assumes a knowledge of the Septuagint by his readers.[112] Third, the presence of the apostolic witness as a consistent element within the kerygmatic speeches of Acts[113] would seem to indicate that a guarantee of legitimate proclamation was needed.[114] When these three facts are taken together, the Lucan tendency seems to be definitely defensive. On the other hand, as has been stated previously, a date in the sixties or in the early second century is improbable.[115] Moreover, the rest of the New Testament literature appears to be addressed to the Church. Though the unbelief of the non-Christian population was an ever constant concern of the first century Christians, therefore, the probability is that the Lucan literature also was written for the benefit of some Christian community.

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[106] Ibid., pp. 10-21.

[107] _Ibid._, p. 172.

[108] _Ibid._, p. 173.

[109] _Ibid._, p. 168.

[110] _Ibid._

[111] Conzelmann, _Theol. Lk._, p. 11.

[112] Winn, "_Elus. Mys._," pp. 146-47. Also, C. M. P. Jones, "The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Lucan Writings," _Studies in the Gospels_, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), p. 116.

Primarily because of the failure to take account of the defensive tendency of the Lucan writings, this position must be regarded as untenable. Luke-Acts was not an evangelistic overture directed to the non-Christian world.

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[113] See chap. II, pp. 73ff.

[114] Ernst Kaesemann, "Neutestamentliche Fragen von heute," *ZTK*, LIV (1957), 21. Cited hereafter as "N. T. Frag."

[115] See n. 82. The second century date advocated by O'Neill is also untenable. The parallels with Justin do not necessitate an origin in the same generation (Henry J. Cadbury, A Review of *The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting*, by J. C. O'Neill, *JBL*, LXXXI [1962], 198, and L. A. Garrard, A Review of *The Theology of Acts in its Historical Setting*, by J. C. O'Neill, *HJ*, LX [1962], 269). The recognition of the parallels, however, is a decided service to research. They do establish some kind of link between Luke and Justin. See n. 81.

What then was its purpose? One school of New Testament scholars sees the Lucan writings as occasioned by the delay of the parousia. Let us examine this position now.

Those That Think the Delay of the Parousia Is the Problem

It is to Rudolf Bultmann and his school that we now turn. The Bultmannian understanding of the eschatological element in early Christian history is crucial for his view of Luke-Acts. The concept of eschatology underlying this view has two poles.

The first pole of the Bultmannian reconstruction of early Christian eschatology is the expectation of Jesus and the primitive Church. Their hope was that the end is imminent.[116] These are the last times. We are the eschatological congregation, the vestibule of God's reign that will shortly appear.[117] The end of history has come. The end of the world is at the door. The Son of Man will very shortly come on the clouds of heaven to establish the reign of God.[118] This expectation had implications for their existence. History is swallowed up in eschatology, in the future.[119] The character of the "time-between" is that of man waiting, waiting for the breaking in of the new aeon.[120] The whole mode of thinking presupposes that the parousia is immediately imminent.[121] Life, therefore, is understood in light of the God who comes. This means openness to the future, never-ending openness.[122] Concern for history is non-existent.[123] In this picture of the eschatological existence of Jesus and the earliest Church there are two elements. On the one hand, there is a real chronological element. These men really believed the apocalyptic mythology literally. God's coming meant a cosmic catastrophe. To live between the times meant a chronological imminence. On the other hand, there is an existential element. This is the essential meaning of the "time between." This existential meaning is the orientation of openness to the future.

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[116] Rudolf Bultmann, "Man between the Times according to the New Testament," Existence and Faith, trans. and ed. Schubert M. Ogden ("Living Age Books"; New York: Meridian Books, Inc., 1960), p. 249. Cited hereafter as "Betw. T."

[117] Rudolf Bultmann, Theology of the New Testament, trans. Kendrick Grobel (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951-55), I, 37. Cited hereafter as T. N. T.

[118] Rudolf Bultmann, "History and Eschatology in the New Testament," NTS, I (1954), 9. Cited hereafter as "Hist. Es."

The other pole of the Bultmannian reconstruction of early Christian eschatology is the expectation of the post-apostolic Church. Their hope had to reckon with the fact that the parousia, the great cosmic catastrophe, the end of the world, had not come. The hope was unrealized. The inbreak of the new aeon had not materialized.[124] Still the expectation as such had not died away. The end of the world was still expected as a great cosmic catastrophe. The parousia was just removed to a remote point in the future.[125] This form of expectation had implications for their existence. The delay and the corresponding shift of the parousia to a distant date in the future caused a shift in existential outlook. The present was no longer understood as an interim, as a brief transitional span between the old aeon and the future aeon.[126] The "time-between" was viewed as of a piece with the past.[127] It was no longer felt to be a time in which the powers of the new age were already at work. The openness to the future was slackened or gone. Concern for history became dominant.[128] In this there are also two elements. On the one hand, the apocalyptic imagery is still taken literally so that the "time-between" is a chronological time. On the other hand, the existential element has changed. Life is no longer lived out of the future. The essential meaning of the interim has been lost.

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[119] Ibid., p. 13.

[120] Bultmann, "Betw. T.," p. 249.

[121] Ibid.

[122] Rudolf Bultmann, Primitive Christianity, trans. R. H. Fuller ("Living Age Books"; New York: Meridian Books, 1956), p. 208.

[123] Bultmann, "Hist. Es.," p. 13.

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[124] Ibid., p. 9.
[125] Bultmann, "Betw. T.," p. 15.
[126] Ibid.
[127] Bultmann, "Hist. Es.," p. 15.
[128] Ibid.

It is within this framework that Bultmann understands Luke-Acts. The Lucan writings fit into the post-apostolic period when the time of the end was more and more deferred into the future, when the time between the resurrection of Christ and his parousia became lengthened indefinitely. As a result, in Luke-Acts the Church understands itself as an entity of world history and Christ as the beginning of a new history of salvation.[129]

Hans Conzelmann has issued the definitive statement of the Bultmannian understanding of Luke-Acts.[130] Conzelmann assumes Bultmann's reconstruction of early Christian eschatology and attempts two things: (1) to demonstrate that Luke-Acts sees the life of Jesus and the history of the early Church as a history of salvation, and (2) to demonstrate the connection between this history of salvation and the delay of the parousia so that the latter fact is seen to be the cause of the former. This second aim involves, for him, merely the task of demonstrating the absence of emphasis in Luke-Acts on an imminent end and the presence of references therein to a delayed parousia. Conzelmann's conclusions are essentially two. First, Luke-Acts is structured so that there are three periods between creation and the parousia--Israel, Jesus, Church--forming a history of salvation.[131] Since it is assumed that the earliest eschatology was anti-historical, it can, therefore, be concluded that Luke has abandoned the primitive eschatological point of view.[132] Second, Luke-Acts plays down any hopes of an imminent end. The parousia is pushed far out into the future.[133] Since it is assumed that the delay of the parousia formed a major problem for post-apostolic Christianity, it can, therefore, be concluded that Luke was faced with the problem of the delay of the parousia. When these two facts are taken together it is seen that the cause of Luke's abandonment of primitive eschatology for a history of salvation is due to the delay of the parousia.[134] The purpose of Luke-Acts, therefore, is to come to grips with the delay of the parousia by substituting a history of salvation for the imminent end. Conzelmann's book, therefore, is a detailed vindication of the Bultmannian position.

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[129] Bultmann, T. N. T., II, 116-17, 122-23.
[130] Conzelmann, Theol. Lk.

Having summarized the Bultmannian position in regard to the purpose of Luke-Acts, let us now proceed to examine it so that it may be adequately evaluated. Our response to this approach will focus upon Conzelmann's book. We will evaluate both his statement of the Lucan tendency and his statement of the occasion for Luke-Acts. Let us begin with his analysis of the tendency of Luke-Acts. In this regard, Conzelmann makes two claims. On the one hand, he asserts that Luke has structured his material so that we find a history of salvation in three distinct stages. On the other hand, he states that Luke has recast his eschatology so that any trace of an imminent parousia has been erased[135] and the end removed to a distant future. It is to the first of these claims that we now turn.

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[131] *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.
[132] *Ibid.*, p. 97.
[133] *Ibid.*, p. 96.
[134] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 97, 135.

Does Luke structure his material so that we find a history of salvation in three parts? Our response to this claim of Conzelmann must be in the affirmative as regards his conclusion. Our own analysis of the Lucan structure which will be presented in Chapter Two comes to the same conclusion as that of Conzelmann. An evaluation of the arguments by which he arrives at this conclusion, however, must be negative in its judgment. To establish the presence of a three stage history of salvation in Luke-Acts, Conzelmann uses two arguments. First, he finds a distinction drawn between the time of John and the time of Jesus based upon the intentional exclusion of John from any eschatological connections.[136] Examination of the evidence, however, casts serious doubt upon Conzelmann's claim that Luke's treatment of the Baptist was motivated primarily by a desire to avoid eschatological implications.[137] Second, he finds a distinction drawn between the time of Jesus and the time of the Church based upon a certain view of Satan's activity. He holds that between Luke 4:13 and 22:3 Satan was far away.[138] Again, however, examination of the text of the Third Gospel reveals the dubiousness of Conzelmann's claim.[139] Luke 8:12-13, 10:17f., 11:20f., 13:16, clearly imply the continuing presence of Satan and the continuous struggle with the demonic that Jesus and the disciples faced. The use of the perfect participle of διαμένω in Luke 22:28 together with the πειρασμοί of Jesus testifies to the same fact. In the light of this evidence, on what grounds could Luke 22:3 possibly be connected with Luke 4:13 as specifying the time when the temptations of Jesus and the corresponding tests of the disciples were resumed? In neither the argument concerning Luke's treatment of the Baptist nor that concerning the treatment of Satan's activity by Luke, can Conzelmann's case be considered established. Though the arguments that he uses are untenable, the conclusion that he proposes is quite correct. As the next chapter of this thesis will show on a different basis, Luke-Acts is so structured that it forms a three-stage history of salvation.

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[135] There is one exception, Lk 10:11 (Ibid., p. 107).
[136] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

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[137] For the detailed evidence we must refer the reader to an excellent review by William C. Robinson, Jr. in *I*, XVI (1962), 93-96, which focuses upon Conzelmann's treatment of John the Baptist. Robinson's conclusion (95) is that it is not at all clear that Luke's attitude towards John was motivated by a desire to avoid eschatological implications. For an alternative explanation of the Baptist's treatment in the Third Gospel, see the Appendix to Chapter Two of this thesis.

[138] Conzelmann, *Theol. Lk.*, p. 28.

[139] Ned B. Stonehouse, A Review of *The Theology of St. Luke*, by Hans Conzelmann, *WTJ*, XXIV (1961), 69-70. This is the best review of Conzelmann's work that I have found.

Has Luke recast his eschatology so that the primitive hope of an imminent parousia has been erased and the end removed to a remote future? Again, our response to Conzelmann must encompass both positive and negative judgments. On the one hand, it must be acknowledged that there are passages in Luke-Acts which seem to reflect a problem over the time of the parousia: (1) Luke 17:23-24 probably, (2) Luke 19:11 certainly, (3) Luke 21:8 possibly, (4) Acts 1:6 probably. It must be pointed out, however, that it is quite possible that these passages point to an eschatological problem other than that proposed by Conzelmann. This possibility must ever remain before us.[140] On the other hand, there are other passages which mitigate against Conzelmann's thesis. There are those passages that point to an expectation of an early return: (1) Luke 10:11, 9,[141] (2) Luke 21:31-32,[142] (3) Luke 9:27.[143] In light of this evidence, it cannot be said that Luke did a complete recasting of primitive Christian eschatology in the interests of extending the parousia into the remote future. The evidence of the Lucan literature, therefore, is not unambiguous on the matter of the time of the end. Conzelmann's case is an oversimplification which results in erroneous conclusions.

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[140] See n. 163 where this problem is discussed.

[141] Conzelmann agrees (Theol. Lk., p. 107).

[142] To my knowledge, Conzelmann never really comes to grips with this passage.

[143] Conzelmann holds just the opposite. Because

Let us now take up Conzelmann's statement of the occasion for the Lucan writings. This occasion, he claims, is the disturbance caused by the delay of the parousia. Behind this claim, of course, is his teacher's reconstruction of early Christian eschatology which we outlined above.[144] It is this assumed reconstruction that we must examine. Our questions are two: (1) Was the early Church's eschatology of the character that Bultmann and Conzelmann assume? (2) Is there convincing evidence that the delay of the parousia was ever the major crisis for the post-apostolic Church that this school assumes?

Was the eschatology of Jesus and the earliest Church that of an expectation of an imminent end of the world? How would one go about deciding this question? The synoptic tradition reveals a many-sided eschatological picture. The

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Lk. omits the words "come with power" from Mk. 9:1, he thinks that Lk. is replacing the idea of the coming of the Kingdom of God with a timeless conception of it. (Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., p. 104) How he arrives at this exegesis is certainly not clear.

[144] Which, of course, is dependent upon Albert Schweitzer.

tendency of scholarship has been to take some aspect of this many-sided picture as the real element of Jesus' eschatology and then to relegate all else to some other source.[145] Bultmann fits into this common practice of scholars. He credits all passages which speak of some hope other than that of an imminent end to the creation of the early Christian community struggling with the delay of the parousia. Why does he do this? Doubtless there are both philosophical and historical reasons.[146] Historically, it is because he brings to the text a certain reconstruction of early Christian eschatology. Since, according to his assumptions, Jesus expected an imminent end, and since the post-apostolic Church had to make an adjustment to the delay of the parousia, all passages indicating anything other than an imminent end in the Gospels are community creations. It is all perfectly logical and consistent. Is it, however, an exegetical derivation from the text?

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[145] Amos Wilder, "The Eschatology of Jesus in Recent Criticism and Interpretation," JR, XXVIII (1948), 177-87. This article is primarily a summary of F. Holmstroem's Das eschatologische Denken der Gegenwart (Guetersloh: Bertelsmann, 1936).

[146] That the conclusions of biblical research have been affected by the changing theological and philosophical context is made quite clear by Holmstroem (Wilder, op. cit., 177-79). In the case of Bultmann, his adherence to the dialectical categories enunciated by Barth in his Epistle to the Romans leads him to distinguish sharply between time and eternity (C. C. Goen, "The Modern Discussion of Eschatology," RE, LVII [1960], 116). The infinite qualitative distinction between time and eternity that Bultmann's exegesis assumes seems to derive from his theological and philosophical context.

The point that must be made in this: the procedure which fastens upon one facet of the many-sided eschatological picture of the synoptic tradition as the real eschatology of Jesus and the early Church and then relegates all other aspects to some other, later source, is justified only if the complex synoptic picture, taken as a whole, is not coherent. The various elements, however, fit together into a reasonably coherent eschatological scheme. The passages that point to the Kingdom of God as present, those that indicate a future Kingdom, those that speak of the Kingdom at hand, those that regard it as future but not imminent so that an interval is expected between Jesus' death and the parousia, all fit together coherently.[147] There is, therefore, no inner necessity to take one facet and dismiss all the others. Nor is there any external improbability in the synoptic picture of Jesus' eschatology which sees in it a continuing time after his death but before the parousia.[148] The idea of a Messianic Age preceding the end of the world and the Age to Come was a part of Jewish apocalyptic at least as early as I Enoch 91-103.[149] We must conclude, therefore, that the synoptic tradition yields a Bultmannian picture only if one brings to the text his prior reconstruction of Jesus' eschatology. This reconstruction, however, belongs in the sphere of assumptions rather than in the realm of conclusions. The first pole of the reconstruction of early Christian eschatology upon which Conzelmann bases his statement of the Lucan purpose is unconvincing.

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[147] Werner Georg Kuemmel, Promise and Fulfillment, trans. Dorthea M. Barton ("Studies in Biblical Theology," XXIII; Naperville, Illinois: A. R. Allenson, 1957) does an admirable job in this respect.

[148] Oscar Cullmann, The Early Church, ed. A. J. B. Higgins (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1956), pp. 152-53, with Kuemmel thinks Jesus envisaged the lapse of several decades before the arrival of the Kingdom. He bases this conclusion on Mk. 9:1, 13:10, 14:62.

Is there not justification, however, for the Bultmannian claim that the delay of the parousia was a major crisis for the post-apostolic Church? What evidence may be presented for this claim? Before the evidence may be properly assessed clarification must be made regarding two points. In the first place, if, as we have argued, the most primitive Christian eschatology had a place for on-going time after Jesus' death but before the parousia, then the presence of a concern for history and for tradition do not automatically imply a concern over the delay of the parousia. In the second place, it must be emphasized that the Gospel tradition can only be used in an auxiliary way. It says only what one's prior reconstruction which is brought to the text makes it say. It, therefore, cannot be used as primary evidence. Any examination of the evidence must reckon with these two facts.

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[149] J. W. Bailey, "The Temporary Messianic Reign in the Literature of Early Judaism," JBL, LIII (1934), 172. I Enoch 91-104 is dated 105-64 B.C. by R. H. Charles (ed.), The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), II, 164.

Let us now examine the New Testament evidence to see whether it testifies to the fact that the delay of the parousia was a major problem for the early Church. First, what evidence do the epistles of Paul yield? It has been argued that Paul's thought shows a remarkable development in several respects. One of these is a development from a highly eschatological to a non-eschatological type of thought.[150] This has been interpreted as evidence for the delay of the parousia. The absence of any indications of a problem over a delay in Paul's later epistles is construed as an indication that the transition from a lively expectation to a hope in the indefinite future has been made smoothly.[151] Does this claim carry conviction? Philippians, if the Roman imprisonment is chosen as the point of origin, indicates a persistent expectation of an imminent parousia.[152] Even if Philippians is placed at Ephesus and Colossians at Rome, the case is not convincing. The occasional nature of this latter letter determines its subject matter.[153] It is amazing how easily this is forgotten when it is convenient to do so. The silence, therefore, from which such scholars argue, does not have the implications that they see. From Paul's letters nothing can be proved.[154]

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[150] Charles Harold Dodd, "The Mind of Paul: Change and Development," BJRL, XVIII (1934), 93-96. Cited hereafter as "Mind P." According to Dodd, it was a transformation of eschatology into mysticism.

[151] Bultmann, "Betw. T.," pp. 250-51.

[152] Phil. 4:5.

Second, what evidence do the Catholic Epistles yield? Though it is claimed that in Hebrews one finds evidence for the delay of the parousia,[155] Hebrews 10:25 and 10:37 speak to the contrary. James 5:9, I Peter 4:7, I John 2:18, 28, and Jude 18, all seem to give evidence that would eliminate these writings from use in a case for the delay being a major problem for early Christianity. Only in II Peter 3:3-4 does the evidence seem to indicate unequivocably that people are troubled over the delay of the parousia. But who are these people? The epistle designates them as "scoffers" who follow their own passions,[156] as "they." They are evidently the same people described in II Peter 2, false teachers who are libertines.[157] This group is certainly distinct from the readers as a whole who are called "beloved."[158] From the manner in which the author writes, it is clear that the "beloved" are not yet participating in the error of the false teachers. Therefore, only a part, probably a few, are denying the parousia. Are they really motivated by the delay? It would seem that they were if we read their words recorded in II Peter 3:4. Upon closer examination, however, these words seem to be but a rationalization for their position on something else. Verse 7 introduces the theme of judgment. This picks up a similar theme in 2:3ff. where they are promised judgment. It seems that in the face of such a warning because of their immoral conduct, they denied the judgment, using as their rationale the words of 3:4. If this is the correct interpretation of II Peter 3:13-14, then the real motivation of this small heretical group is not disillusionment over the parousia's delay. Upon examination, therefore, this passage, which is used so glibly as evidence for the claim that the delay of the parousia was a major problem for the early Church, is seen to possess quite another implication.

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[153] Albert Schweitzer, The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle, trans. William Montgomery (New York: Macmillan Co., 1956), p. 43, says, "Paul's Letters are 'occasional' writings. He did not compose them with a view to giving a connected account of his teaching, but expounded his views only as fully as the circumstances which gave rise to the Letters appeared to demand." This expresses almost the universal opinion of scholars.

[154] The date of Ephesians is uncertain. Probably the trend is against its authenticity. This would place it in the post-apostolic period. Though there is no accent on the nearness of the end in Ephesians, the eschatological structure of the thought persists (1:12; 1:14; 1:18; 1:21; 4:4; 4:31; 6:13). There is no agitation over a delayed parousia. Unless one assumes a certain view of the eschatology of Jesus and the primitive Church, this evidence by no means implies a problem over a delayed parousia.

[155] Bultmann, "Betw. T.," p. 251.

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[156] II Pet. 3:3.

[157] Ernst Kaesemann thinks the errorists are Gnostics. His general conclusions, however, are erroneous because he assumes the Bultmannian reconstruction of the development of early Christian eschatology. ("Eine Apologie der urchristlichen Eschatologie," ZTK, XLIX (1952), 272-96)

[158] II Pet. 3:1, 8.

Third, there is little doubt about the direction of the evidence supplied by the Apocalypse of John. Here the expectation is keen, as 1:3 and 22:7, 10, 12, clearly indicate.

Fourth, the Pastorals have been used as evidence for a major adjustment caused by the failure of the end to materialize. Two facts are used: (1) their failure to reflect an expectation of an early end, (2) the importance of tradition in them.[159] In light of the occasional nature of these letters and the problems with which they deal,[160] and in light of the first preliminary point that we made,[161] these two facts prove nothing.

Fifth, what evidence does the Fourth Gospel furnish? Does it not point to a problem created by the delay? Why else would the Evangelist recast his eschatology so radically? There is another explanation, one offered by R. M. Grant.[162] According to Grant, the eschatology of the Fourth

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[159] Bultmann, "Betw. T.," p. 250; T. N. T., II, 114, 183; The Presence of Eternity (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), p. 38.

[160] II Tim. 2:18 indicates the problem is that some claimed the end was past already.

[161] See p. 47.

[162] Robert M. Grant, "The Earliest Christian Gnosticism," CH, XXII (1953), 81-97. Cited hereafter as "Ear. Ch. G."

Gospel is recast not because of the delay of the parousia but because of the Gnostic problem faced. The Gnostics with whom "John" had to deal claimed that the resurrection was past already if one had been initiated into their group by baptism.[163] In response, the Fourth Evangelist went as far as he could in their direction. This accommodation was the cause of the Johannine recasting of eschatology. If such an explanation is credible, and it certainly is, then once again the major problem created by the delay of the parousia fails to materialize.

It is our conclusion, therefore, that the New Testament writings outside the synoptic tradition do not give a clear demonstration that the Christian Church was soon bothered by the problem of the failure of the end to come.[164] This leads us to question whether such a treatment of the synoptic tradition is justified. In our judgment it is not.

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[163] In II Tim. 2:18 there is a reference to some who hold that the resurrection is past already. II Thess. 2:2 refers to the same problem. Either through a forged letter or a prophetic utterance a claim had been made that the Day of the Lord had already come. It is possible, and even probable, that I Cor. 15, seen in the light of I Cor. 4:8ff., may be directed against a conception that held the spirituals were already raised by knowledge (R. M. Grant, A Review of Weisheit und Torheit, by Ulrich Wilckens, ATR, XLIII [1961], 229). There is, therefore, such a situation as Grant proposes for the Fourth Gospel in the first century. In fact, there would seem to be better evidence for this problem than for the crisis over the delay of the parousia.

[164] Appeal is made to I and II Clement as evidence for the delay of the parousia being a major problem for early Christianity (Bultmann, "Betw. T.," p. 251, and Werner, Formation, p. 45). Examination of I Clement 23 and II Clement 9-12, however, reveals that this conclusion is anything but

If the delay of the parousia caused such consternation in the apostolic and post-apostolic Church that everywhere a restatement of the primitive Christian eschatology was necessary, adjusting Christian theory to the delay, one cannot help wondering why the accent upon the nearness of the end persists in the synoptic tradition.[165] If the tradition that speaks of a lapse of time before the end is the result of a reformulation of primitive eschatology in light of the delay, why was not all the tradition reshaped? Was the tradition so sacrosanct that it could not be altered? How then could the Church tolerate the reshaping of any of the eschatological material? Are the passages stressing

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certain. I Clement 23:3 speaks of those who waver and say that none of the last things have happened though we have grown old since hearing them. This expression, as I Clement 24:1 and 26:1 show, accompanies a denial of the resurrection. Belief in or denial of the resurrection, moreover, has its corollary in the belief in or denial of the judgment to come, as I Clement 28:1-4 indicates. The implication of belief in resurrection and judgment is moral holiness. I Clement 29-30 and 35:4-12 clearly show this to be the case. The problem in Corinth, therefore, is not rooted in perplexity over the delay of the parousia. Rather, like that of II Pet., it is rooted in libertine conduct which tries to justify itself be a denial of judgment based upon a failure of the resurrection to have taken place already. This interpretation of these two Clementine documents is in line with Walter Bauer's claim that the problems arise from Gnosticism (*Rechtglaeubigkeit und Ketzerei im aeltesten Christentum* ["Beitraege zur historischen Theologie," X; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1934], p. 104). Cited hereafter as *Rechtg. K.*

[165] For example, in Mk. 13:36, Mt. 24:34, and Lk. 21:32.

the nearness of the end merely remnants of the primitive eschatology that have escaped reformulation? If the situation demanded the reformulation of primitive eschatology, it seems that to leave part of the tradition untouched and to include it alongside of material which had been reshaped to take account of the delay would undercut the entire purpose of any reformulation of eschatology. It seems much more probable that the two elements, that which speaks of the nearness of the end and that which speaks of a lapse of time before the end, both belonged to primitive Christian eschatology. The presence of synoptic tradition which speaks of the nearness of the end in Gospels written at a time when the reformulation of primitive Christian eschatology was supposedly necessary confirms the conclusion we drew from our survey of the rest of the New Testament literature. The delay of the parousia was not the acute problem for the Church that the Bultmannian school assumes.

The conviction to which we have come is that the Bultmannian reconstruction of early Christian eschatology which underlies Conzelmann's work is untenable at both of its poles.[166] If this is so, then the occasion proposed by

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[166] Howard C. Kee, "The Development of Eschatology in the New Testament," JBR, xx (1952), 187-93, covers much of the same territory that we have and reaches a similar conclusion.

Conzelmann for Luke-Acts is as unconvincing as his claim that the eschatology of Luke-Acts was consistently recast to remove all trace of the primitive hope for an imminent end of the world. On both tendency and occasion, Conzelmann's view of Luke-Acts is untenable. The Lucan literature is not an attempt to meet the problem of the delay of the parousia by the substitution of a history of salvation for the primitive eschatology. What then is the purpose of the Lucan writings? One scholar of stature in the modern world has suggested that Marcion was the occasion for the composition of the Lucan literature. Let us turn to this position now.

Those That Regard Marcion as the Primary Problem

John Knox has advanced the thesis that Luke-Acts in its present form is a product of the middle of the second century which, at least in part, serves an anti-Marcionite function.[167] This thesis is a part of Knox's over-all point of view of the importance of Marcion and of the Church's way of responding to him. He thinks that Marcion's canon, consisting of a form of the Third Gospel and ten letters of Paul, was the determinative factor in the Church's formation of a canon, a Pauline corpus, and the four-fold Gospel. The

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[167] John Knox, Marcion and the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

Church's response to Marcion consisted of an acceptance of what he espoused together with an inclusion of that in a larger whole.[168] This procedure forms a general pattern of the Church's actions throughout the second century.

In the context of this understanding of second-century Christianity, Knox examines the relation between the text of Marcion's Gospel and that of the canonical Luke. In contrast to the usual opinion of scholars today, he argues that his examination excludes the possibility that Marcion's Gospel is merely an abridgement of the canonical Gospel. Then, in harmony with the general pattern he has found elsewhere in the Church's response to Marcion,[169] Knox sees our Gospel of Luke as an acceptance of Marcion's Gospel, which itself is an adaptation of a kind of Proto-Luke,[170] and as an enlargement of it with Acts added.[171] In this way it combatted Marcionism. The finished work reflects an awareness of Marcion's attitude towards the Old Testament, Paul, and the earlier group of apostles. It also reflects an awareness of the use such men as Marcion were making of a particular Gospel and of Paul's letters.[172] In one of its aspects at least, therefore, Luke-Acts is an early apologetic response to Marcionism.[173]

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[168] Ibid., pp. 77, 165.
[169] *Ibid.*, p. 77.
[170] *Ibid.*, pp. 110, 120-21.
[171] *Ibid.*, p. 123.
[172] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

From this brief survey of Knox's view it has become clear that his central argument concerns the relation of Marcion's Gospel to the canonical Luke. His contention is that this relation is not accurately described either by the claim that Marcion abridged Luke, as is commonly thought, or by the claim that Luke enlarged Marcion. It must rather be that a primitive Gospel was shortened by Marcion and then enlarged by the maker of Luke-Acts.[174] The means by which these conclusions are drawn is a detailed examination of the differences between the Gospel of Marcion and the canonical Luke. Any criticism of this position, therefore, must come at the point of the comparison of the text of Marcion's Gospel with that of the Third Gospel.

The question that must be put to Knox is whether the procedure that he follows is possible. In the first place, is the kind of minute analysis which he undertakes possible with an inexact text? Knox has himself set forth the difficulties confronting scholars who try to reconstruct Marcion's text.[175] His list of five such problems is devastating to his entire argument concerning Luke. He has answered, or rather shown the impossibility of, his thesis even before he undertakes to set it forth. One cannot help wondering whether Knox thinks that to state the arguments against your own position cancels their validity against you so that you can proceed as though they did not exist. Whether he thinks it consciously or not, this certainly seems to be the assumption from which he operates. In the second place, given the possibility to do such minute analysis with an inexact text, can Knox's method yield his results? Can linguistic differences between Marcion's Gospel and the Third Gospel yield the conclusion that a primitive Gospel was shortened by Marcion and lengthened by the maker of Luke-Acts? It seems highly doubtful that analysis of such differences could ever yield the Proto-Lucan source upon which the thesis of Knox leans so heavily.[176]

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[173] Ibid.
[174] _Ibid._, p. 110.
[175] _Ibid._, pp. 47-48.

It would seem, therefore, that Knox's central argument, without which his case for a Marcionite occasion for Luke-Acts is demolished, proves and can prove nothing. The attempt to find the occasion for the Lucan literature in the second century is a failure.[177] The recognition of certain concerns in Luke-Acts which Knox sees in relation to Marcion, however, may be valid in part insofar as these concerns can be seen in relation to the Gnostic problem in general at an earlier date.[178]

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[176] Henry J. Cadbury, A Review of Marcion and the New Testament, by John Knox, JBL, LXII (1943), p. 127, makes two points that wreck Knox's argument. First, the presence of non-Lucan words or the absence of Lucan words cannot be used to prove that Luke is using a source. Second, the presence of Lucan words or the absence of non-Lucan words cannot be used to prove that Luke is not using a source.

[177] Three other criticisms of Knox's thesis reinforce this conclusion. First, how was a Gospel written about A.D. 150 so readily accepted as canonical? (Ned B. Stonehouse, A

If the purpose of Luke-Acts is not to serve as a polemic against Marcion, what is it? The final group of scholars whom we will examine are those who regard Gnosticism as the problem which evoked the writing of Luke-Acts.

Those That Think Gnosticism Is the Problem

A very few scholars have suggested that Luke-Acts might possibly have been written to deal with the problem of Gnosticism. Two different approaches have been made within this group, depending upon the date assigned to the Lucan writings.

Loisy[179] is the representative of the first approach. He dates the Lucan literature in its present form sometime

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Review of *Marcion and the New Testament*, by John Knox, *WTJ*, VI [1943], 96) Second, if Luke-Acts took its present shape so late, the differences between the Neutral and the Western texts are much harder to explain. (A. D. Nock, A Review of *Aufsätze zur Apostelgeschichte*, by Martin Dibelius, G, XXV [1953], 501) Third, one would expect to find some traces of Ur-Lukas in non-Marcionite circles since there was no ecclesiastical censorship to destroy dissident texts (*Ibid*.).

[178] We have treated Knox's thesis as a separate category not only because of the old question of whether Marcion is really a Gnostic or not, but also because the distinctiveness of his position seems to demand individual treatment.

[179] Alfred Firmin Loisy, *The Birth of the Christian Religion*, trans. L. P. Jacks (London: G. Allen & Unwin, 1948).

in the first half of the second century, perhaps A.D. 125-40.[180] Although he thinks that the anti-Jewish polemic in Luke-Acts is in the interest of proving that Christianity is the most authentic form of Judaism and that it, therefore, has the same right to tolerance by Roman authority as official Judaism,[181] he also sees the possibility of an anti-Gnostic polemic. Loisy bases this latter observation on three facts: (1) the ardor for the Old Testament which may be a reaction to Gnostics like Marcion and Basilides who repudiated the Old Testament and the God of the Jews,[182] (2) the materialization of the apparitions of the risen Christ in both the Gospel and the Acts which may be aimed at Docetism,[183] and (3) the dependence of certain passages in Luke-Acts on the Johannine literature where an anti-Gnostic aim is apparent.[184]

Ernst Kaesemann[185] may be taken as the representative of the second approach.[186] This approach would place Luke-

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[180] _Ibid._, pp. 48, 50-51.
[181] _Ibid._, pp. 50, 174.
[182] _Ibid._, p. 50.
[183] _Ibid._, p. 51.
[184] _Ibid._
[185] Kaesemann, "N. T. Frag."
[186] Barrett, _L. H. R. S._, p. 25, gives qualified approval to Kaesemann's thesis. He will agree that Luke is a representative of early Catholicism if this means nothing other than the Church's defensive movement against Gnosticism's threat. Walter Schmithals asserts that the basic tendency of Luke is anti-Gnostic. Luke sets the apostolic tradition bound to a succession over against the free apostolate of Gnosis. ("Die Haeretiker in Galatien," _ZNW_, XLVII [1956], 62).

Acts near the end of the first century.[187] In contrast to the Tuebingen theory that Catholicism was the result of the synthesis of Jewish Christianity and Paulinism, Kaesemann asserts that early Catholicism is nothing other than the churchly protection against Gnosticism.[188] The beginnings of this process are now seen to be present already in the New Testament. Luke is the first representative of this emerging early Catholicism.[189] In Luke-Acts, the Word is no longer the criterion of the Church, but rather, the Church is the legitimation of the Word. The apostolic origin of the churchly ministry offers a guarantee for a legitimate proclamation.[190] The Lucan theology in both its center and in many of its particulars must be designated as early Catholicism. As such it is essentially different from the earliest Christianity.[191]

This position which regards Gnosticism as the occasion for the Lucan writings is one that is only gradually emerging as a live option among modern scholars. Of the scholars to whom we have just referred, moreover, none has offered any substantial argument to justify the thesis that Luke-Acts is anti-Gnostic. There is at present, therefore, a need for a closer examination of Luke and Acts to see whether or not there is any justification for this view. It is to this task that the remainder of this thesis will be devoted. In this sense, the rest of this thesis will be an evaluation of this sixth position. To this endeavor let us now turn.

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[187] Barrett, L. H. R. S., p. 62. Kaesemann and Schmithals do not give a specific date. Since Kaesemann regards Luke-Acts as the earliest representative of early Catholicism, it seems probable that he would date the Lucan writings near A.D. 100. Since Schmithals sees the Gnostic problem as an early one, he would most likely date Luke-Acts by A.D. 100.

[188] Kaesemann, "N. T. Frag.," p. 20.

[189] *Ibid.*

[190] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[191] *Ibid.*

CHAPTER II

THE COMMON PURPOSE OF LUKE AND ACTS

The general direction of New Testament criticism in the last century has been towards accepting a common author for the Third Gospel and Acts.[1] The movement in this direction has been so overwhelming[2] that the cautious Cadbury could say in his 1927 classic, The Making of Luke-Acts, that "among all the problems of New Testament authorship no answer is so universally agreed upon as is the common authorship of these two volumes."[3] Virtually the sole exception to this concensus since Cadbury's statement has been A. C. Clark[4] whose contentions have been ably assessed and refuted by W. L. Knox.[5] Devoid of convincing challengers, the common authorship of Luke and Acts is virtually a closed question for New Testament research today.[6]

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[1] As representative of German and British scholarship at the end of last century we may mention Zeller, Acts, II, 213, and R. J. Knowling, The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. II of The Expositor's Greek Testament, ed. W. Robertson Nicoll (5 vols.; New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897-1910), p. 3. As representative of German, British, and American scholarship of this century we may mention Wilhelm Michaelis, Einleitung in das Neue Testament (Bern: B.E.G.-Verlag, 1946), p. 120, A. H. McNeile, An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament (2d ed. rev. C. S. C. Williams; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 92, and Morton Scott Enslin, Christian Beginnings (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938), p. 413 (cited hereafter as Chr. Beg.).

[2] Ernest Renan could say, "It is not necessary to stop and prove this proposition which has never been seriously contested." (Origins of Christianity, Vol. II: The Apostles, n.t. [New York: Carleton, Publisher, 1866], p. 14) Cited hereafter as Origins. Knowling (Exp. Gk. T., II, 3) could say in 1900 that the philologist Gercke seemed to be the only convert to the position of two authors for Luke and Acts. In 1911 James Moffatt (Intro., p. 298) could say that the hypothesis that the two works did not come from the same pen still cropped up occasionally. He mentioned Sorof, Hilgenfeld, Soltau, Gercke, and Norden.

The pressing problem for our purposes, however, is not simply that of a common author for the Third Gospel and Acts. Our problem concerns the question of a common purpose for the two books. Do these two volumes have a common purpose, or does each have a separate and distinct aim? Many scholars regard them as simply two parts of the same work.[7] Others, however, think the two books have different aims. Within this latter group of scholars, two basic approaches to the problem of the composition of the Lucan literature can be distinguished. The first approach accepts the traditional view that the Third Gospel was written prior to the Acts. It contends that there was an appreciable interval between their composition[8] and that they have separate and distinct purposes.[9] The argument for an appreciable interval between the composition of Luke and Acts, however, is not the real reason for maintaining separate purposes for the two documents.[10] The second approach places the composition of Acts prior to that of the Third Gospel[11] and regards them as having different aims.[12] Again it must be pointed out that the assertion of separate and distinct aims for Luke and Acts is not necessitated by the position which places the composition of Acts prior to that of the Third Gospel.[13]

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[3] Henry J. Cadbury, The Making of Luke-Acts (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 8. Cited hereafter as Mk. Lk. A.

[4] A. C. Clark, The Acts of the Apostles (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), pp. 393-408.

[5] W. L. Knox, The Acts of the Apostles (Cambridge: University Press, 1948), pp. 1-15, 100-09. Cited hereafter as A. A.

[6] The strongest argument for this position is presented by Zeller, Acts, II, 213-54.

[7] Two of the most respected American scholars are representative of this position. Cadbury, Mk. Lk. A., pp. 8-9, and Edgar J. Goodspeed, An Introduction to the New Testament (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 180-81.

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[8] The main reasons for seeing an appreciable interval between the two volumes are: (1) the linguistic differences between Luke and Acts (John Caesar Hawkins, Horae Synopticae [2d ed. rev.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909], p. 177; Streeter, Four G., p. 534), (2) the discrepancy between the Gospel and the Acts in regard to the day of the ascension (Schneckenburger, Zweck Apg., pp. 8-14; Zeller, Acts, II, 111; Streeter, Four G., p. 534; Frederick Clifton Grant, The Growth of the Gospels [New York: Abingdon Press, 1933], pp. 165-66). Cited hereafter as Grow. G. If word differences can place Acts later than Luke, however, Hawkins' charts furnish evidence that must place Acts 13-28 later than Acts 1-12 so that we have three stages of composition at appreciable intervals. This is unlikely. So is the argument for an interval based on word differences. The generation of Hawkins and Streeter explained every difference in the Gospels by reference to sources, discovery of new information, and complex theories of composition. Our day tends to explain such differences by the theological tendency of the author. It is likely that such is the explanation for the difference in the ascension narratives in Luke and Acts.

[9] So Schneckenburger, Zweck Apg., pp. 8-15; Zeller, Acts, II, 111.

[10] Since Streeter, Four G., pp. 535-40, can hold to different times for their composition and yet hold to a common purpose.

[11] At least four scholars in this century have argued that Acts was written prior to Luke. The first is Frederick Henry Chase, "The Gospels in the Light of Historical Criticism," Cambridge Theological Essays, ed. H. B. Swete (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1905), pp. 371-419. The second is C. S. C. Williams, "The Date of Luke-Acts," ET, LXIV (1953), 283-84. The third is Roland Koh, The Writings of St. Luke (Hongkong: The Diocesan Literature Committee, 1953), chapters

The reasons for claiming that the Gospel and Acts

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ii and iii. The fourth is Henry G. Russell, "Which Was Written First, Luke or Acts?" HTR, XLVIII (1955), 167-74. The grounds on which such a claim is made are essentially three. First, the internal evidence seems to date Acts before Luke. The last event to be mentioned in Acts is the imprisonment of Paul near A.D. 60. The last event mentioned in Luke is the fall of Jerusalem near A.D. 70. Second, the differences in the ascension stories in the Third Gospel and Acts can be explained if we regard Luke as a correction of Acts. Third, there are certain Marcan allusions in Acts which are not in Luke. In reply, we can say three things. First, that the Acts narrative ends with Paul in prison does not mean that the author of Acts knew of nothing after that time (Goodspeed, "Date," E, Series Eight, XVII [1919], 387-91). Second, the differences in the ascension stories could just as easily be understood if we supposed that Acts was a later, more legendary account. Moreover, a Lucan theological intent may explain the differences just as well. Third, the supposed allusions do not bear up under close examination. Either the verbal similarity is too little to posit dependence or the verses deal with entirely different characters. The case for the composition of Acts preceding that of Luke has not been established.

[12] Koh, op. cit., pp. 34-45, is the only one of this group who finds this theory of composition leading to the assertion of separate purposes for each book. Koh thinks Proto-Luke was written about A.D. 58-80 by Luke, the companion of Paul. It was written in Caesarea to help Paul in his projected mission to Spain. Its purpose was evangelism and catechesis. Acts was written by Luke about A.D. 63 at Rome. It was intended to serve as a brief for the trial of Paul. The Third Gospel was written about A.D. 71-75 by Luke. Because of the appearance of Mark and the many others referred to in Lk. 1:1-4, Luke was accused of having written something, Proto-Luke, which did not include all things accurately. Under obligation to set things right, Luke wrote the Third Gospel as an answer to his critics.

[13] Since Chase (op. cit.) can hold to this theory of composition and yet hold to a common purpose.

have different purposes are two. First, it is maintained that the author's conception of his task in one volume does not include the other.[14] Second, it is maintained that the tendency of the two volumes is not the same, necessitating different occasions for them.[15]

These two reasons serve as a guide for the arguments of this chapter. The purpose of the chapter is to demonstrate the probability that Luke and Acts have a common purpose. In order to establish this probability, it will be necessary to employ two arguments. First, we must show that the author's conception of his task in one volume includes the other. In order to do this, we will argue from the speeches of Acts. We will attempt to show that in the author's mind, the story of Jesus could not be separated from the witness of the apostles. If this is the case, Acts must have been a part of his total plan when he wrote the Gospel. Second, we must show that the two volumes share a common tendency, necessitating a common occasion. In order to do this, we will argue from the structure of Luke and Acts.[16] We will attempt to show that the author's organization of his material in both Luke and Acts follows the same design and binds the two volumes together with a common tendency. If this is the case, both volumes must have been within the author's total plan of work. Let us now turn to these two arguments.

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[14] Schneckenburger, Zweck Apg., pp. 12-14; Zeller, Acts, II, 111.

[15] Grant, Grow. G., p. 166.

[16] The term "structure" means in this chapter only organization or arrangement. It does not carry within itself automatically the idea of exactness of sequence.

The Argument from the Speeches of Acts

The Basis of the Argument

The basis of this argument is the claim that the speeches of Acts are to some degree an index of the author's mind.[17] Can they be so conceived?

In present day study of the speeches of Acts there are three main positions. The first position sees them as Lucan summaries of speeches which contain at least a genuine kernel of the sermon which occurred in the particular situation described by the author of Acts.[18] The second asserts that though given their form by the author of Acts, the sermons are essentially the kerygma of primitive Christianity. They are, therefore, substantially authentic as regards motifs and themes. The same authenticity, however, cannot be claimed for the situations presented in Acts. Each must be tested separately.[19] The third view considers the speeches as Lucan not only in form but also in substance.[20] If they represent anything beyond the author's own mind, it is either the Christian preaching about A.D. 90 or a non-Christian source.[21]

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[17] G. W. H. Lampe, "The Lucan Portrait of Christ," NTS, II (1956), 160-75, starts from this basis and argues that the best methodology for studying the Lucan Christology is that which takes its point of departure from the speeches of Acts.

[18] Two representatives of this stance in the first part of the century are Maurice Jones, St. Paul the Orator (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910), p. 17, and Archibald Thomas Robertson, Luke the Historian in the Light of Research (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), chap. xvii. Two modern representatives are F. F. Bruce, The Speeches in the Book of Acts (London: Tyndale Press, n.d.), p. 27, cited hereafter as Speeches, and Ned B. Stonehouse, Paul before the Areopagus, and Other New Testament Studies (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957), p. 38.

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[19] C. H. Dodd, The Apostolic Preaching and Its Development (London: Hodder & Stoughton, Ltd., 1936), p. 21, cited hereafter as Apos. P.; Knox, A. A., p. 18; Bertil Gaertner, The Areopagus Speech and Natural Revelation, trans. Carolyn Hannay King ("Acta Seminarii Neotestamentici Upsaliensis," XXI; Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1955), p. 35.

[20] Benjamin Wisner Bacon, An Introduction to the New Testament (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), pp. 226-28; Adolf Juelicher, An Introduction to the New Testament, trans. Janet Penrose Ward (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), pp. 443-45; Paul Wendland, Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum. Die Urchristlichen Literaturformen (2. & 3. Auflage; "Handbuch zum Neuen Testament"; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1912), p. 331; Dibelius, Stud. A. A., p. 3.

[21] Eduard Norden, Agnostos Theos (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1929), pp. 46-48, argues that the similarities between the argument of Apollonius in Athens and the Areopagus speech in Acts can only be explained by the direct dependence of the latter upon either a writing of Apollonius himself or a work which referred to him, such as in Philostratus. Hildebrecht Hommel argues that a Poseidonius tractate molded by a Hellenistic Jew was the source of the Areopagus speech. The author of Acts made Paul's speech into a Poseidonian-Jewish diatribe in the style of Paul's time ("Neue Forschungen zur Areopagrede Acta 17," ZNW, XLVI [1955], 145-78).

Though varying to a considerable degree in regard to the historicity each assigns to the speeches, these three positions agree on at least two points. First, they agree that the author of Acts participated in the composition of the speeches, even if it was only to summarize a longer speech.[22] Second, they agree that the author of Acts exercised selectivity and skill in the choice and arrangement of the speeches in the book.[23] Since these two facts are granted by all three positions, the basis of this first argument is legitimate. The speeches of Acts are an index of the author's own understanding of the gospel.[24]

An Examination of the Speeches of Acts

Having made clear the legitimacy of our first argument, we must now examine the speeches. The question at this juncture is: which speeches relate to the problem of a common purpose for the Third Gospel and Acts? Our objective is to discover whether there is anything in Luke's understanding of the story of Jesus that would necessitate his inclusion of the story of the church within the total plan of his work. This formulation of our task furnishes us with the criterion by which we may select those speeches relevant to our purpose. The speeches that we must examine are those in which the story of Jesus is central. We must seek to discover whether or not for Luke the story of Jesus demands the story of the church.

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[22] The process of summarizing involves selectivity. Selectivity inevitably involves the subjectivity of the summarizer. Even viewing the speeches as summaries, therefore, means that they are in part expressions of the mind of the author of Acts.

[23] This is an unstated, but nevertheless real, presupposition of modern scholarship.

[24] The best summary of the arguments against a single mind behind the speeches is given by H. J. Cadbury, "The Speeches in Acts," The Beginnings of Christianity, Part I, ed. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake (5 vols.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1920-33), V, 410-20. Cited hereafter as BC. The best summaries of the arguments for the Lucan composition of the speeches are to be found in John T. Townsend, "The Speeches in Acts," ATR, XLII (1960), 150-59.

The speeches falling into this category number six. They are: (1) Acts 2:14-40, (2) Acts 3:12-26, (3) Acts 4:8-12, 19-20, (4) Acts 5:29-32, (5) Acts 10:34-43, (6) Acts 13:16-41. Let us now examine these speeches to determine their contents.[25]

In Acts 2:14-40, a sermon of Peter which follows the experience of Pentecost, there are four basic themes. They are: (1) the fulfillment of scripture, 2:16-21, 25-28, 29-31, 34-35, (2) the story of Jesus, 2:22-24, 32-33, 36,[26] (3) the apostles' witness to the resurrection, 2:32, (4) the call to repentance with a promise of forgiveness and the gift of the Holy Spirit, 2:38-39.

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[25] There is no need for a detailed presentation of the evidence since C. H. Dodd (Apos. P.) has already given it and since we do not take issue with him at the points relevant to our study, with one exception.

[26] Actually fulfillment of the Old Testament and the promise of salvation through Jesus are but complementary parts of the story of Jesus. They are taken separately for the sake of analysis.

Acts 3:12-26 contains a sermon of Peter after the healing of a lame man. It contains four basic themes. They are: (1) the story of Jesus, 3:13-15, 26, (2) the apostolic witness to the resurrection, 3:15, (3) the fulfillment of scripture, 3:18, 22-25, (4) the call to repentance accompanied by a promise of forgiveness and the coming of Christ, 3:19-21.

In Acts 4:8-12, 19-20 we find our third speech. This speech, delivered by Peter during the first encounter of the apostles with the Jerusalem priesthood, contains three essential themes. They are: (1) the story of Jesus, 4:10-11, (2) the claim that salvation is only through him, 4:12, (3) the apostles are witnesses to what they have seen and heard, 4:19-20.

Acts 5:29-32 contains a message delivered during the second encounter of the apostles with the Jewish leaders. Once again, there are three essential themes. They are: (1) the story of Jesus, 5:30-31a, (2) the claim that repentance, forgiveness, and the gift of the Holy Spirit are through him, 5:31b-32b, (3) the apostles are witnesses to the death and resurrection of Jesus, 5:32a.

In Acts 10:34-43 we find Peter's sermon preached at the home of Cornelius. It contains four basic themes. They are: (1) the story of Jesus, 10:36-38, 39b-40, (2) the apostolic witness to the ministry, death, and resurrection of Jesus, 10:39a, 41-42, (3) the fulfillment of the prophetic witness, 10:43a, (4) the claim that forgiveness is through Jesus, 10:43b.

The final sermon of the six is found in Acts 13:16-41. In this speech of Paul at Antioch in Pisidia there are four essential themes. They are: (1) the fulfillment of the Old Testament in Jesus, 13:17-23, 26-27, 29a, 33-34, 35, (2) the story of Jesus, 13:23-25, 28, 29b-31a, (3) the apostolic witness, 13:31b, (4) the claim that forgiveness of sins is through Jesus, 13:38-39.

Summarizing the results of our examination of the six speeches, we see that four times the theme of the fulfillment of scripture is mentioned, six times the gift of salvation is offered through Jesus, six times the story of Jesus is told, and six times there is a reference to the apostles' witness to the Christ-event. The significant thing about these component parts of the preaching is the presence of the apostolic witness as an essential element.[27]

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[27] T. F. Glasson, "The Kerygma: Is Our Version Correct?" HJ, LI (1953), 129-32, has seen the persistent presence of this element and argues that it should be included in the kerygma. It is at this point where we feel Dodd needs a corrective. If Glasson is correct, then not only are the Gospels an unfolding of the kerygma, but also so is the Acts. For the contrary view, see Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., p. 15, n. 1.

From this we may conclude that for the author of Acts the affirmation of the apostolic witness is as much a part of the preaching of the gospel as that of the story of Jesus.[28] With this understanding of the gospel it is inevitable that the Third Evangelist would include Acts as an integral part of his total plan.[29] Having seen that the speeches of Acts[30] testify to the fact that Luke and Acts are complementary halves of one theological plan, let us now turn to our second argument.

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[28] C. F. Evans, "The Kerygma," JTS, New Series, VII (1956), 37; Glasson, op. cit., p. 132.

[29] Examination of two passages in the Third Gospel lends strong support to this argument. The first passage is Lk. 24. In 24:19-24, the two disciples on their way to Emmaus give the facts in the story of Jesus. Then in 24:26-27, 44-49, the risen Christ expounds the meaning of the facts. The speech has four themes: (1) the Old Testament is fulfilled, 24:44-46a, (2) the story of Jesus, 24:46b, (3) the claim that repentance, forgiveness, and the gift of the Holy Spirit are through him, 24:47, 49, (4) the spostles are witnesses, 24:48. The basic pattern of the speeches examined in Acts is found here in the mouth of the risen Lord. It is significant that this is L material. If one asks why the Third Evangelist included it here, there can be only one answer. It is included to give the author's understanding of the Gospel. This understanding sees the apostolic witness as a complement to the story of Jesus.

The second passage in the Third Gospel is 1:1-4. This preface is almost universally understood as the composition of the author of the Gospel. The Evangelist speaks of "the things which have been accomplished among us." Lk. 24:44 makes it clear that this refers to the story of Jesus. The Evangelist also speaks of "those who from the beginning were eye witnesses and ministers of the word." Acts 1:21-22 shows this to refer to the apostles. The preface addresses itself to Theophilus. He may expect a report of the story of Jesus. It is not an unqualified story of Jesus, however. It is the story of Jesus as it was delivered by the apostles. The apostolic witness is again the complement of the gospel.

These two Lucan references buttress the evidence derived from the speeches of Acts.

[30] There are six other speeches in Acts in which the story of Jesus is not central but which at least allude to some part of his life, death, or resurrection. They are: (1) Acts 1:15-22, (2) Acts 7:2-53, (3) Acts 11:5-17, (4) Acts

The Argument from the Structure of the Third Gospel and Acts

Presupposition and Method

The presupposition on which this argument rests is the claim that an evangelist's arrangement of his material is a key to his theology. This insight into the theological significance of a Gospel's framework has come largely as a by-product of form criticism.[31] To this structural aspect of Gospel research a number of recent studies have been devoted.[32] Each of these studies seeks an entrance into the

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17:22-31, (5) Acts 22:3-21, (6) Acts 26:2-23. Of these speeches, the first, fifth, and sixth contain the motif of the apostolic witness. We may, therefore, conclude with Ulrich Wilckens that this use of μάρτυς is typically Lucan and that it goes through the whole of Acts as one of its most important motifs ("Kerygma und Evangelium bei Lukas: Beobachtungen zu Act 10:34-43," *ZNW*, XLIX [1958], 233).

[31] Conzelmann, *Theol. Lk.*, pp. 9-10.

[32] Robert Morgenthaler, *Die Lukanische Geschichtsschreibung als Zeugnis: Gestalt und Gehalt der Kunst des Lucas* (2 vols.; "Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments," XIV-XV; Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1949). Cited hereafter as *Luc. G.* Paul Schubert, "The Structure and Significance of Luke 24," *Neutestamentliche Studien fuer Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. Walther Eltester (Berlin: Alfred Toepelmann, 1954), 165-86. Cited hereafter as "Structure." Conzelmann, *Theol. Lk.* William C. Robinson, Jr., "The Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative," *JBL*, LXXIX (1960), 20-31. Cited hereafter as "Travel Narrative." Robert Tannehill, "A Study in the Theology of Luke-Acts," *ATR*, XLIII (1961), 195-203.

evangelist's mind by investigating his arrangement of the gospel tradition. Our second argument is based upon this method.

How does one distinguish that for which the evangelist is himself responsible?[33] At this point we are thrown back upon "a methodological comparison with his sources, in so far as these are directly available or can be reconstructed."[34] In the Third Gospel we are fortunate to know of Luke's use of Mark and Q.[35] In Acts the problem of discerning the sources is much more difficult. Nevertheless, in both the Gospel and Acts we will work in as close a contact as possible with the study of the author's sources.

Having clarified the presupposition and the methodology of this second argument, let us now examine the structure of Luke and Acts.

An Examination of the Structure of Luke and Acts

Our examination of the structure of Luke and Acts will consist of five examples of parallelism in the two books.[36]

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[33] There is a danger in this type of research. It is easy to "see" what the author may not have intended. Austin Marsden Farrer's, A Study in St. Mark (New York: Oxford University Press, 1952), is a prime example of this type of research run wild.

[34] Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., p. 12. It is Morgenthaler's most serious weakness that he did not show how his structural analysis derived from the Evangelist's use of his sources.

[35] The use of the designation Q in this thesis implies nothing more than the non-Marcan material common to Matthew and Luke.

The first example is one whose existence has been acknowledged by scholars for more than a century.[37] It is the parallelism between the first half of Acts[38] in which 7 Peter is central and the second half which is dominated by Paul. A representative list of such parallels may include the following:[39]

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[36] Some explanation must be given for the form in which this argument is presented in the following pages. Two alternatives were open to us. On the one hand, we could have done as Conzelmann and worked through Luke and Acts five times, allowing the facts to emerge in the process. On the other hand, we could present the results of such an exegetical study in the form of a list of parallels first and then show in the following pages that the Lucan use of sources intended these parallels. We chose the second alternative for three reasons. First, the second alternative is in the interests of readability. Conzelmann's method is terribly difficult for the reader. Second, our method conserves space. We do not have space for several hundred pages of minute analysis. Third, our way of presenting the evidence takes nothing away from the probability of the case. While the charge that other explanations are possible for the changes Luke makes in his sources is one that our method will have to answer, the method followed by Conzelmann does not make him immune to the same charge.

[37] Schneckenburger, *Zweck. Apg.*, pp. 52-56; Zeller, *Acts*, II, 115; Richard Belward Rackham, *The Acts of the Apostles* ("Westminster Commentaries"; London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1901), pp. xlvii-xlix, cited hereafter as *A. A.*; Renan, *Origins*, II, 26; Goguel, *Birth*, p. 337; Bruce, *Com. B. A.*, p. 387.

[38] We will assume the division of Acts to fall between chaps. 1-12 and chaps. 13-28. The parallelism is the basis for this division. Philippe H. Menoud is one of the most recent ones to attempt to divide Acts at chapter 15. His argument is that such a division is more in accord with the intent of the author of Acts. ("Le plan des Actes des Apôtres," *NTS*, I [1954], 41-51) Our investigation of the structure of Luke-Acts should prove otherwise.

Acts 1-12			Acts 13-28	
3:1-10	There is a healing of a man lame from birth, followed by a speech beginning, "Men . . . why . . .?" in which the apostles involved disclaim power to do this themselves.	1.	14:8-18	A man lame from birth is healed, followed by a speech beginning, "Men, why . . .?" in which the apostles involved claim to be only men.
5:15	Peter's shadow has healing power.	2.	19:12	Paul's clothes have healing power.
5:34	A Pharisee defends Peter in the Sanhedrin.	3.	23:9	Pharisees defend Paul in the Sanhedrin.
6:6	The apostles appoint the seven with prayer and laying on of hands.	4.	14:23	The apostles appoint elders with prayer and fasting.
6:13, 9	Stephen is charged with violation of the law and "this holy place" by Jews from Asia.	5.	21:28	Paul is charged with violation of the law and "this holy place" by Jews from Asia.
8:9-24	Peter confronts a magician, Simon.	6.	13:6-12	Paul confronts a magician, Elymas.
8:14-17	The Spirit is given by laying on of the apostles' hands.	7.	19:1-6	The Spirit is given by the laying on of Paul's hands.
9:36-43	Peter raises dead Dorcas.	8.	20:9-12	Paul raises dead Eutychus.
10:25-26	Cornelius worships Peter who replies, "Stand up; I too am a man."	9.	14:13-15	The Lystrans try to offer sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas who reply, "We also are men, of like nature with you."

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[39] This list does not profess to be exhaustive. It consists of those parallels which are representative of past scholarship and which are convincing to this student.

12:6-11 Peter is miraculously delivered from prison.	10.	16:24-26 Paul and Silas are miraculously delivered from prison.
12:1-5 Peter is put in prison by Herod.	11.	25:13, 23-24 Paul, while in prison, presents his case before a Herod.
1:21-22 The apostles are to be witnesses.	12.	26:16; 23:11 Paul is to be a witness.
chaps. 10-11 Peter has a mission to the Gentiles.	13.	chaps. 13-21 Paul has a mission to the Gentiles.
10:34-43 Peter's sermon is similar in contents to that of Paul.	14.	13:16-41 Paul's sermon is very similar to that of Peter.
10:1-48 Peter has a favorable relation with a Centurion.	15.	27:43 Paul has a favorable relation with a Centurion.

Is this parallelism due to the author of Acts or to some other factor? Would it be possible to argue that the parallels are due not to the author's intention but to the fact that the lives of Peter and Paul actually contained the same kinds of events?[40] Would granting the historicity of of the events rule out the conscious part the author may have played in the composition of Acts? Would he not still have to exercise his powers of selectivity? Why did he select this or that particular authentic event in the lives of Peter and Paul? Why did he describe them in the language that he did? To claim the historicity of the events does not exclude the intentional paralleling of Peter and Paul by the author of Acts.

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[40] George Salmon, *A Historical Introduction to the Study of the Books of the New Testament* (6th ed.; New York: E. & J. B. Young & Co., 1892), pp. 310-11, argues in this way.

Would it then be possible to argue that the parallels are not due to conscious design on the part of Luke but to Luke's sources? What would this imply about the nature of the sources? If both sides of the parallelism were due to Luke's sources, then his sources must have been an Acts of Peter and an Acts of Paul constructed on the same pattern by someone using the same principle of selectivity for each source. Such a view of sources has no adherents among modern scholars.[41] If one side of the parallels was due to Luke's sources, there would still remain the question of the other side. Why did he select the particular traditions for this side that he did? To answer this would be to attribute the parallels to the author of Acts.

It seems, therefore, we may conclude that the author of Acts organized his material so that there would be a distinct parallelism between the first and second halves.[42]

The second example of the framework of these books is the parallelism between the Third Gospel and Acts.[43]

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[41] To argue that there may have been either an Acts of Peter or an Acts of Paul is not enough. There must have been both and both must have been constructed in the same way.

[42] This statement, as with all such claims in this chapter, is not intended to prejudice the question of the historicity of Acts in either direction.

[43] The parallelism here is not only of content but also of sequence.

The existence of these parallels has also been noted by previous scholarship.[44] The following list consists of the particular parallels that this student would be willing to defend.

Luke		Acts	
1:1-4	A preface which dedicates the book to Theophilus.	1. 1:1-5	A preface which dedicates the book to Theophilus.
3:21	Jesus is praying at his baptism.	2. 1:14, 24	The disciples are praying as they await their baptism of the Spirit.
3:22	The Spirit descends after Jesus' prayer and in a physical form.[45]	3. 2:1-13	The Spirit fills the disciples after their prayers and has a physical manifestation.
4:16-30	Jesus' ministry opens with a sermon which gives the theme for what follows, fulfillment and rejection.[46]	4. 2:14-40	The church's ministry opens with a sermon which gives the theme for what follows, fulfillment and rejection.
4:31-8:56	The theme of fulfillment mentioned in 4:16-30 is worked out in examples of preaching and healing. Conflicts illustrate the note of rejection.	5. 2:41-12:17	The theme of fulfillment is worked out in examples of prophesying and wonders. Persecutions illustrate the note of unbelief.

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[44] Rackham, A. A., p. xlvii; Frank Bertram Clogg, An Introduction to the New Testament ("The London Theological Library"; London: University of London Press, 1954), pp. 247-48.

[45] Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe, The Seal of the Spirit (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1951), p. 44, has seen this parallel.

[46] G. W. H. Lampe, "The Holy Spirit in the Writings of St. Luke," Studies in the Gospels: Essays in Memory of R. H. Lightfoot, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 159, refers to this parallel. Cited hereafter as "Spir. Lk."

Within this last general section there are several specific points of comparison that need to be mentioned.

5:17-26 A lame man is healed by the authority of Jesus.	6. 3:1-10 A lame man is healed by the name of Jesus.
5:29-6:11 Conflicts with religious leaders.	7. 4:1-8:3 Conflicts with religious leaders.
7:1-17 There is mention of a centurion,[47] a widow, a resurrection.	8. 9:32-10:48 There is mention of a widow, a resurrection,[48] a centurion.
7:36-50 A Pharisee criticizes Jesus for being touched by the wrong kind of woman.	9. 11:1-18 The Pharisaic party criticizes Peter for his association with Gentiles.

We now move on to further parallels between the Gospel and Acts.

10:1-22 The mission of the seventy.[49]	10. chaps. 13-20 The missionary journeys of Paul.

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[47] Zeller, Acts, II, 230-31, saw the similarities between the two episodes about centurions. Goguel, Birth, p. 93, thinks that one reason for doubting the historicity of Acts 10 is that the personality of Cornelius seems to be molded after the pattern of the centurion at Capernaum in Lk. 7. A. R. C. Leaney, A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke ("Harper's New Testament Commentaries"; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), p. 141, also sees the parallel and thinks it partially due to Lucan editorial activity. Cited hereafter as Com. Lk.

[48] Weiss, Absicht, p. 18, is in error when he claims that the wonders of Acts 9:31-43 are in this section only as an introduction to the Cornelius story to show how Peter came to Joppa and Caesarea. He is incorrect when he says they do not fit into the author's purpose.

[49] The mission of the seventy, or the seventy-two, would seem to parallel Paul's missionary journeys for three reasons: (1) it strikes a universalistic note, (2) it is peculiar to Luke, (3) its location in the context makes it fit this design. Lampe, "Spir. Lk.," p. 190, has seen this parallel also.

9:51-19:28	Jesus makes a journey to Jerusalem which is a passion journey (9:31; 9:51; 12:50; 13:33; 18:31-33) under divine necessity (13:33) and characterized by the disciples' lack of understanding (9:45; 18:34).[50]	11.	19:21-21:17	Paul makes a last journey to Jerusalem which is a passion journey (20:3; 20:22-24; 20:37-38; 21:4; 21:10-11; 21:13) under divine necessity (20:22; 21:14) and characterized by his friends' lack of understanding (21:4; 21:12-13).

Careful examination reveals seven references to Jerusalem in both the passion journey of Jesus in the Third Gospel and that of Paul in Acts.

9:51	He set his face to go to Jerusalem.	12.	19:21	Paul resolved to go to Jerusalem.
13:22	He was journeying toward Jerusalem.	13.	20:22	I am going to Jerusalem.
13:33	I must go on my way for a prophet cannot perish away from Jerusalem.	14.	21:4	They told Paul not to go to Jerusalem.
17:11	On the way to Jerusalem he was passing between Samaria and Galilee.	15.	21:11-12	Agabus told Paul the Jews at Jerusalem would bind him.
18:31	We are going up to Jerusalem.	16.	21:13	Paul replied that he was ready to die at Jerusalem.
19:11	He was near to Jerusalem.	17.	21:15	We made ready to go to Jerusalem.
19:28	He went on ahead, going up to Jerusalem.	18.	21:17	When they had come to Jerusalem.

Not only is Jesus' journey to Jerusalem parallel to that of

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[50] Lampe, "Spir. Lk.," p. 196, has seen this parallel also, though not in its details.

Paul, but also the events that take place after the two men reach the city are similar.[51]

19:37	Jesus receives a good reception and the people praise God for the works they have seen.	19.	21:17-20a	Paul receives a good reception and God is glorified for the things done among the Gentiles.
19:45-48	Jesus goes into the Temple. He has a friendly attitude to it.	20.	21:26	Paul goes into the Temple. He has a friendly attitude toward it.
20:27-39	The Sadducees do not believe in resurrection. The scribes support Jesus.	21.	23:6-9	The Sadducees do not believe in resurrection. The scribes support Paul.
22:19a	At a meal Jesus λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν.[52]	22.	27:35	Paul has a meal in which he λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαρίστησεν . . . καὶ κλάσας.[53]

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[51] In the following list, numbers 24, 25, 27, 29, 30, come from Morgenthaler, *Luc. G.*, I, 182-83. Morgenthaler's over-all understanding of the structure of Luke-Acts is organized as follows:

I. Jerusalem scene, Lk. 1:5-4:13
I. Travel Narrative, Lk. 4:14-19:44
II. Jerusalem scene, Lk. 19:45-24:53
III. Jerusalem scene, Acts 1:4-7-7:60
II. Travel narrative, Acts 8:1-21:17
IV. Jerusalem scene, Acts 21:18-26:32
III. Travel narrative, Acts 27:1-28:31

Within this framework, he sees Jerusalem scene I as parallel to Jerusalem scene II, Jerusalem scene I as parallel to Jerusalem scene III, Jerusalem scene II as parallel to Jerusalem scene III, and Jerusalem scene II as parallel to Jerusalem scene IV.

J. G. Davies, "The Prefigurement of the Ascension in the Third Gospel," *JTS*, New Series, VI (1955), 299-33, sees a parallelism between Lk. 9:1-34 and Acts 1:1-12.

Neither of these men elucidates his parallels in light of the Evangelist's use of his sources. This is their greatest weakness. If they prove to be right, it will help our thesis. If they are wrong, it will not affect our thesis.

[52] The textual choice, whether the longer or the shorter text, makes no difference in this parallel.

[53] Bo Reicke, "Die Mahlzeit mit Paulus auf den Wellen

22:54	A mob seizes Jesus.	23.	21:30	A mob seizes Paul.
22:63-64	Jesus is slapped by the priest's assistants.	24.	23:2	Paul is slapped at the high priest's command.
22:66-71	Jesus is before the Sanhedrin.	25.	22:30-23:10	Paul is before the Sanhedrin.
23:1-5, 13-25	A Roman official examines Jesus.[54]	26.	21:33-39	A Roman official examines Paul.
23:4, 14, 22	Three times Pilate declares Jesus innocent.	27.	23:29; 25:25; 26:31	Three men, Lysias, Festus, and Agrippa, all declare Paul innocent.
23:6-12	Pilate sends Jesus to Herod for questioning.[55]	28.	25:13-26:32	A Herod hears Paul at the permission of Festus.
23:22	Pilate says he will release (ἀπολύσω) Jesus.	29.	26:32	Agrippa says, "This man could have been set free (ἀπολελύσθαι)."
23:18	The Jews cry, "Away with this man." (αἶρε τοῦτον)	30.	21:36	The Jews cry, "Away with him." (αἶρε αὐτόν)
23:47	A centurion has a favorable opinion of Jesus.	31.	27:3, 43	A centurion has a favorable relation with Paul.

The parallelism between the sequence of events in the Third Gospel and Acts which we have noted continues to the conclusion

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des Mittelmeers, Act 27:33-38," TZ, IV (1948), 401-10, points out the formal similarities between the last supper in Luke and Paul's meal in Acts 27. He, however, wants to argue for a sacramental interpretation of Acts 27:35. In this case its form would go back to Paul and the sacramental meal he observed on board ship. Granting the formal similarities, we see the likeness due to the Evangelist's parallelism and not to a sacramental meal of Paul.

[54] Lampe, "Spir. Lk.," p. 196, has also seen this parallel.

[55] Ibid.

of the two books.

Chap. 24 Conclusion. The ministry of Jesus concludes on the positive note of the fulfillment of scripture.[56]	32. Chap. 28 Conclusion. The ministry of Paul concludes on the positive note of the fulfillment of scripture.

Are these parallels due to the author of Luke and Acts, or are they due to some other cause? It is instructive to see how Luke has handled his sources in order to construct the Gospel half of these parallels. Let us examine his use of Mark, Q, and L[57] in those passages where we have claimed a parallelism with Acts. What we will be looking for are any indications in Luke's use of his sources that will point to intentional paralleling on his part. For convenience we will break the investigation up into three parts.

We will begin by investigating the Marcan material used by Luke in the parallels with Acts. There are thirteen such passages which we must examine.

The first passage in this category is Luke 3:21-22= Mark 1:9-11 (parallel to Acts 1:14, 24; 2:1-13). The parallel consists of three elements: (1) the chief characters are praying, (2) the Spirit comes after prayer, (3) physical phenomena accompany the Spirit's coming. The Lucan modifications of Mark are: (1) Jesus is praying at his baptism, (2) the Spirit descends in bodily form. These alterations are clearly in the interest of the parallel.

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[56] Schubert, "Structure," p. 185, points out this parallel. He argues rightly that the conclusions of the two volumes were carefully planned so as to be parallel. This was seen as long ago as J. B. Lightfoot (*Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians* [London: Macmillan & Co., 1896], p. 3, n. 2).

[57] The use of the designation L in this chapter implies nothing more than material peculiar to Luke.

The second passage is Luke 4:31-8:56, minus Q and L material,=Mark 1:21-5:43 (parallel to Acts 2:41-12:17). The parallel consists of examples of healings, preaching, and religious conflicts. The Marcan material contains precisely this combination of events. No specific modifications are needed to insure the parallel.

The third section consists of Luke 18:31-34=Mark 10:32-34 (parallel to Acts 21:13) and Luke 19:28-38=Mark 11:1-10 (parallel to Acts 21:17). These two Lucan references form two of a series of seven references to a journey to Jerusalem. The parallel consists of the fact that they are numbers five and seven in this list of seven. The modifications are in Luke 18:31-34. They are: (1) whereas Mark 10:32-34 has two references to the journey to Jerusalem, Luke omits the first, verse 32, and retains only the second, verse 33, (2) Luke adds 18:34 which speaks of the disciples' lack of understanding of the journey. The first alteration was to keep the number of references to Jerusalem to seven. The second was to insure the parallel with Paul whose friends failed to understand his journey. These are intentional changes.

The fourth passage is Luke 19:28-38=Mark 11:1-10 (parallel to Acts 21:17-21a). The parallel is twofold: (1) both men receive a good reception, (2) the people praise God for all He has done. The Lucan modification of Mark is significant. Luke adds verse 37 which has χαίροντες and αἰνεῖν τὸν θεὸν φωνῆ μεγάλη περὶ πασῶν ὧν εἶδον δυνάμεων.

The fifth passage is Luke 19:45-48=Mark 11:11, 15-18 (parallel to Acts 21:26). The parallel consists of the facts that Jesus goes into the Temple upon arrival in Jerusalem and that he apparently has a favorable attitude toward it. The Lucan modifications are two. First, the Third Gospel abbreviates Mark's account. Whereas Mark has two trips of Jesus into the Temple separated by the cursing of the fig tree, 11:12-14, Luke has only one trip into the temple and omits the cursing. This takes the note of rejection out of the cleansing and softens its harshness. Second, Jesus is portrayed as teaching continuously in the Temple. This gives the impression that Jesus is favorably disposed to it. Here again, the alterations seem in the interest of the parallel.

The sixth passage is Luke 20:27-39=Mark 12:18-27 (parallel to Acts 23:6-9). The parallel here is twofold: (1) the Sadducees do not believe in the resurrection, (2) the scribes support Jesus and Paul. Luke adds verse 39 to the Marcan pericope to show the support of the scribes. This is intentional.

The seventh passage is Luke 22:54=Mark 14:53 (parallel to Acts 21:30). The parallel consists of the fact that a mob seizes each hero. In verse 54 Luke adds συλλαβόντες to Mark 14:53's statement that they ἀγήγαγον Jesus to the high priest. Matthew 26:57 has Jesus seized but his word is κρατήσαντες. This looks intentional. It thereby parallels Acts 21:30 which has the cognate ἐπιλαβόμένοι with reference to Paul's seizure.

The eighth passage is Luke 22:63-64=Mark 14:65 (parallel to Acts 23:2). The parallel consists in the fact that Jesus is slapped by those associated with the priests. No alteration of Mark is necessary for the parallel.

The ninth passage is Luke 22:66-71=Mark 14:53-64 (parallel to Acts 22:30-23:10). The parallel consists in the fact that Jesus is before the Sanhedrin. No change in Mark is necessary for the parallel.

The tenth passage is Luke 23:1-5, 13-25=Mark 15:1-15 (parallel to Acts 23:29; 25:25; 26:31). The parallel consists of the threefold declaration of Jesus' innocence by the Roman official who examines him. Luke adds 23:4, 14, and 22b to give the threefold declaration. This is in the interest of the parallel.

The eleventh passage is Luke 23:22c which is added by Luke to the Marcan story of Jesus' trial before Pilate. This is in the interest of the parallel with Acts 26:32.

The twelfth passage is Luke 23:18=Mark 15:11. Luke adds αῖρε τοῦτον in 23:18 to parallel Acts 21:36 where the Jews cry, "αῖρε αὐτόν."

The final passage in this section is Luke 23:47=Mark 15:39 (parallel to Acts 27:3, 43). The parallel consists of a favorable relation with a centurion. Luke changes Mark 15:39's ἀληθῶς οῦτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος υἱὸς θεοῦ ῆν to read ὄντως ὁ ἄνθρωπος οῦτος δίκαιος ῆν. This change evidently serves to parallel Jesus to Paul whose centurion guard evidently felt he was innocent.

From this survey of the way the Third Evangelist used his Marcan source in the parallels with Acts, what may we conclude? In those passages where an alteration of or an addition to Mark is necessary to bring Jesus into a situation parallel with that of Paul, the change is made.

The second part of our investigation of Luke's use of his sources in the Gospel-Acts parallelism concerns the use he made of Q. There is a sizeable amount of Q material in 9:51-18:14. None of the specific parallels between the journeys of Jesus and Paul, however, come from Q. It is legitimate, therefore, to say that there is no Q material used directly by Luke to facilitate his parallelism between the Third Gospel and Acts.

The final part of this examination of the Third Evangelist's use of his sources within this parallelism is concerned with his use of L material. A list of the material peculiar to Luke that goes to make up the Gospel-Acts parallelism includes the following:

1. Luke 1:1-4 (parallel to Acts 1:1-5).
2. Luke 4:16-30 (parallel to Acts 2:14-40).
3. Luke 7:1-17 (parallel to Acts 9:32-10:48).
4. Luke 7:36-50 (parallel to Acts 11:1-18).
5. Luke 10:1-22 (parallel to Acts 13-20).
6. Luke 9:51 (parallel to Acts 19:21).
7. Luke 13:32 (parallel to Acts 20:22).
8. Luke 13:33 (parallel to Acts 21:4).
9. Luke 17:11 (parallel to Acts 21:11-22).
10. Luke 19:11 (parallel to Acts 21:15).
11. Luke 23:6-16 (parallel to Acts 25:13-26:32).
12. Luke 24:13-53 (parallel to Acts 28).

When we consider the meaning of this block of material, we must ask ourselves two questions. First, why was this large amount of L material included in the Third Gospel? Second, why was it included in the order in which it was? Taken together, these two questions point in one direction. This L material was included in the amount that it was and in the order that it was, in order to implement the Gospel-Acts parallelism.

Our investigation of the Third Evangelist's use of his sources in the Gospel in those passages where there are parallels to Acts has led us to a certain conviction. The Gospel-Acts parallelism reflects the mind of the author.[58]

The third example of Luke's method of organization of his material may be gleaned from Luke 9:1-48 and Luke 22:7-23:16. Events mentioned in chapter 9 are either repeated or echoed in chapters 22-23 though not necessarily in the same order. The parallels can be seen in the following list.

Luke 9		Luke 22-23	
9:1-6	Jesus sends out the Twelve. Regulations are given for the journey.	1. 22:35-38	There is a recollection by Jesus of the time he sent out the Twelve. The regulations for the journey are mentioned.
9:7-9	Herod hears of Jesus and seeks to see him.	2. 23:6-16	Herod is glad Jesus is sent to him for he had heard about him and was hoping to see some sign.
9:10-17	Jesus speaks of the Kingdom of God in connection with a meal. He blessed, broke, and gave to the disciples to distribute.	3. 22:7-19	Jesus speaks of the Kingdom of God in connection with a meal. He gave thanks, broke, and gave to the disciples.

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[58] From this analysis we have learned two facts: (1) that the Third Evangelist himself constructed the basic Luke-Acts parallelism, (2) that he did so out of Mk. and L material only, without so much as one Q passage. The implications of these facts seem to be two: (1) that there was no union of Q and L material prior to the composition of the Third Gospel, at least in the sense of a Proto-Luke, (2) that the Q + L complex was not the basic guide in the composition of the Lucan Gospel.

9:20 Peter makes a confession immediately following the meal.	4. 22:31-34 Peter makes a confession immediately following a meal.
9:23-27 If any man would come after me, let him . . . take his cross daily.	5. 22:28-30 You . . . who have continued with me in my trials.
9:28-36 Jesus is on a mount with his disciples. As he prays, he has heavenly visitors appear to him who speak of his departure. The disciples are sleepy.[59]	6. 22:39-46 Jesus is on the Mount of Olives with his disciples. As he prays about his death a heavenly visitor appears to him. The disciples are sleeping.
9:37-43a Immediately upon coming down from the mountain Jesus performs a miracle. There is a sharp contrast between Jesus and the disciples.	7. 22:47-53 Immediately after the mountain scene Jesus performs a miracle. There is a sharp contrast between Jesus and his disciples.
9:43b-45 The Son of Man is to be delivered into the hands of men.	8. 22:21-23 The Son of Man goes as it has been determined, but woe to the man by whom he is betrayed.
9:46-48 There is a dispute over greatness.	9. 22:24-27 There is a dispute over greatness.

Are these parallels due to the Evangelist or to some other cause? This can only be answered after an investigation of Luke's treatment of his sources. We will investigate Luke 9 and 22-23 in three ways. First, we will note the additions to Mark by Luke. Second, we will list the Marcan pericopes omitted by Luke. Third, we will examine the alterations Luke makes in the Marcan material he uses.

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[59] Anthony Kenny, "The Transfiguration and the Agony in the Garden," CBQ, XIX (1957), 444-52, sees parallels between the two pericopes in all three Synoptics. The evidence he collects is useful. His interpretation of it, however, is weak. This is due primarily to his failure to relate this phenomenon to the over-all structure of the Gospels. See also, Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., p. 81.

Let us begin the investigation with Luke 22:7-23:16. First, we will note the additions made to Mark by the Third Evangelist. A glance at the index of Huck[60] reveals that in six out of nine cases, the parallels to Luke 9:1-50 in 22:7-23:16 are due to L material.[61] Since every one of the six pericopes peculiar to Luke in 22:7-23:16 is necessary for the existence of a parallel with Luke 9, one cannot but conclude that this is an intentional manipulation of his sources.

Second, we will list the Marcan pericopes omitted by Luke in 22:7-23:16. There are two. Mark 14:3-9, the annointing at Bethany, is the first one. It has its closest parallel in Luke 7:36-38. Having no parallel in Luke 9, we are not surprised to see it omitted from Luke 22-23. Mark 15:16-20, the mocking of the Roman soldiers, is the second omission. In Luke 9:22 Jesus is made to say that he will suffer at the hands of the Jews. In Luke 22-23, therefore,

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[60] Albert Huck, Synopsis of the First Three Gospels, trans. F. L. Cross (9th ed. rev. Hans Lietzmann; New York: American Bible Society, 1935), pp. xiii-xx.

[61] The L material includes: (1) 22:35-38, (2) 23:6-16, (3) 22:31-34, (4) 22:28-30, (5) 22:21-23, (6) 22:24-27. Is 22:24-27 really L material or is it from Mark 10:42-45? If it is from Mark, our case is all the stronger for Lucan manipulation of his sources in the interest of the parallels.

Pilate's soldiers have no part in Jesus' sufferings.[62]

Third, we will examine the alterations Luke makes in the Marcan material he uses. Three pericopes fall into this category. The first of them is Luke 22:14-19=Mark 14:22-25 (parallel to Luke 9:10-17).[63] The parallel consists of the

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[62] Possibly this may be due to the desire to relieve Rome of all responsibility. If our explanation of the political motif in Acts is correct, however, this explanation is weakened in Luke. Perhaps the innocency of Jesus in the Gospel is due to Luke's servant motif. If so, then there is still less probability that the Third Gospel is trying to relieve Rome of responsibility.

[63] Is this pericope from Mk.? John Martin Creed, *The Gospel according to St. Luke* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1930), p. 261, thinks so. He thinks that the Lucan version of the supper is dependent on Mk. Luke, however, has painted the scene afresh. As far as this student is concerned, there is no question about Lk. 22:7-13 being from Mk. 14:12-16. This student would also follow Creed (pp. 263-65) in subscribing to the shorter text. The grounds for this choice are well known: (1) its witnesses are very early, (2) it is the shorter reading, (3) it is the more difficult reading, (4) the longer text is explicable as an assimilation to I Cor. 11:24 and Mk. 14:24. Henry Chadwick, however, points out that the chief difficulty of all defenders of the authenticity of the shorter text is simply to make sense of it. ("The Shorter Text of Luke 22:15-20," *HTR*, L [1957], 249-58) Chadwick attempts to solve this problem. He claims that Lk. 22:15-18 is a tradition independent of Mk. In this he is supported by Vincent Taylor, *Behind the Third Gospel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1926), p. 37, cited hereafter as *B. T. G.*, and Joachim Jeremias, *The Eucharistic Words of Jesus*, trans. Arnold Ehrhardt (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), pp. 69-70. The theme of 22:15-18, according to Chadwick, is that the Christian supper is a foretaste of the heavenly banquet. The Evangelist then appended 22:19a because of the absence of any explicit mention of the bread in 22:15. It was the Evangelist himself, therefore, who initiated the long process of expansion. Taylor (p. 37) would agree that the Evangelist added 22:19a, only from Mk. 14:22.

This interpretation of the development of the Lucan story of the supper is appealing except at one point. Chadwick's fact that in connection with a meal Jesus speaks of the Kingdom of God and follows the ritual formula of blessing, breaking, and giving to the disciples. Mark has all these elements so one would assume that no changes would be necessary. There are, however, certain significant shifts. Luke has a double reference to the Kingdom of God instead of one. This is no doubt for emphasis. He also makes indefinite the Marcan reference to night. This is possibly due to the indefiniteness on time in Luke 9:12.

The second Marcan pericope used by Luke in 22:7-23:16 is Mark 14:32-42=Luke 22:39-46. The parallel with Luke 9:28-39 consists of the fact that Jesus goes to a mountain with his disciples. While he is praying a heavenly visitor appears to him. Amid the stress on Jesus' death, the disciples sleep. Luke makes two significant changes in the interest of his parallels. First, he changes Mark's

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explanation of the Evangelist's motive in adding verse 19a seems obscure. Why would the absence of an explicit mention of bread be important? Why would the presence of 19a be so important? At this point the question arises whether our structural analysis may offer a solution to the Evangelist's motives.

If Luke used an independent tradition of the last supper, probably because of the centrality of Jesus' words about the Kingdom of God in it, he would have to modify it to bring it into line with his parallels. He, therefore, must have added 22:19a from Mk. 14:22. The formula about the bread which he took, blessed, and broke, was necessary for the parallel. Mark's εὐλογήσας he changes to εὐχαριστήσας because the latter was used in 22:17. If this is the correct explanation, it would be explaining a difficult passage by means of the Evangelist's dominant method of treating his sources in Lk. 22.

Gethsemane, 14:32, to the Mount of Olives. Second, he has a heavenly figure appear (ὤφθη) to him where Mark has none.[64]

The third Marcan pericope used by Luke in 22:7-23:16 is Mark 14:43-52=Luke 22:47-53. The parallel with Luke 9:37-43a consists primarily of the miracle performed by Jesus immediately after the mountain scene. Luke adds to Mark the miracle of Jesus' healing the slave's ear. This is clearly in the interest of the parallel.

We may conclude from the previous investigation that in Luke 22:7-23:16, Luke altered Mark significantly in the interest of his parallels.[65]

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[64] Lk. 22:43 is omitted by B, A, W, Φ, f, the Sinaitic Syriac and others. It is included by the original hand of Sinaiticus, D, θ, and others. With the two great uncials, Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, divided over the issue, other evidence is necessary for the decision. Since the verse is necessary for the parallel, it is probably to be retained as original. I maintain this position in spite of the fact that P^{75} does not contain Lk. 22:43-44. (Victor Martin and Rudolphe Kasser [eds.], Papyrus Bodmer XIV [Cologny-Genève: Bibliotheque Bodmer, 1961], p. 134).

[65] This free use of Mk. raises the whole question of an independent passion narrative for Luke. On the one hand, there have been scholars who have felt that the great differences between Lk. and Mk. were decisive in proving an independent passion narrative for the Third Evangelist. Bernhard Weiss, The Life of Christ, I, trans. John Walter Hope ("Clark's Foreign Theological Library," New Series, XIV; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1883), p. 80, followed by Burton Scott Easton, The Gospel according to St. Luke (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926), p. xiv, who argues for one source peculiar to Lk., L, which runs from the beginning of Jesus' life through the resurrection appearances. Cited hereafter as Gos. Lk. F. C. Burkitt, The Gospel History and Its Transmission (3d ed.; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911), pp. 133-36, thought that Q had a passion narrative. A. M. Perry, The Sources of Luke's Passion Narrative ("Historical

The second half of this examination will concern

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and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament," Second Series, IV, Part 2; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1920), pp. 105-06, asserted that the Third Evangelist possessed an independent passion narrative, J, a Greek document translated from Aramaic and originating in the Jerusalem Church about A.D. 45. B. H. Streeter, "Fresh Light on the Synoptic Problem," *HJ*, XX (1921-22), 105, claims an independent passion narrative for the Third Gospel as an important link in his Proto-Luke hypothesis. Vincent Taylor, *B. T. G.*, chap. ii, following Streeter's lead has become the foremost advocate of this position today. His position has been strengthened in recent times by the work of Paul Winter, "The Treatment of His Sources by the Third Evangelist in Luke 21-24," *ST*, VIII (1954), 138-72, who argues for a position very similar to that of Taylor. In an article entitled "Sources of the Lucan Passion Narrative," *ET*, LXVIII (1956), 95, Taylor expresses his approval of Winter's work and Winter replies with appreciation for Taylor's agreement.

On the other hand, there have been those who have argued forcefully against an independent passion narrative for Luke. Among such scholars we may mention only a few. John Caesar Hawkins, "Three Limitations to St. Luke's Use of St. Mark's Gospel," *Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, ed. William Sanday (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), pp. 29-94; J. M. Creed, "Some Outstanding New Testament Problems. II. 'L' and the Structure of the Lucan Gospel: A Study of the Proto-Luke Hypothesis," *ET*, XLVI (1934), 101-07; Robert Henry Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1934), pp. 164, 178; Martin Kiddle, "The Passion Narrative in St. Luke's Gospel," *JTS*, XXXVI (July, 1935), 267-80; G. D. Kilpatrick, "A Theme of the Lucan Passion Story and Luke 23:47," *JTS*, XLIII (1942), 34-36; Allan Barr, "The Use and Disposal of the Marcan Source in Luke's Passion Narrative," *ET*, LV (1944), 227-31.

In spite of the manifold attacks upon the position of Taylor, he remains a firm advocate of his original position. The existence of an independent passion narrative for the Third Gospel remains an open question. It is because of this fact that we pause to reconsider Taylor's thesis. We will examine only the logic of his arguments to see whether or not they can bear the weight put on them.

Taylor begins his discussion of the Lucan passion narrative with an examination of each pericope to determine its relation to Mk. (pp. 34-67). He concludes that with few

Luke 9:1-48. First, we may note that there are no additions

exceptions the Lucan narrative is non-Marcan. (pp. 67-68) With this contention one could have little objection.

The next step, however, is the crucial one. It concerns the question whether this non-Marcan material comes from separate sources or from one continuous source. Taylor argues for one continuous source. His reasons are three: (1) the continuity of the non-Marcan narratives in Lk. 22-24 after the Marcan material is removed, (2) the cross references and connections between individual non-Marcan pericopes, (3) the portrait of Christ which is the same throughout the non-Marcan material. (pp. 68-69)

Let us examine the logic of these three arguments. Actually the inner logic of all three arguments is the same so that close investigation of one will give insight for the other two. Taylor's first argument is that when all the Marcan material has been taken out of Lk. 22-24 the result is not a handful of fragments but a story which can be read as a whole. The theory of one continuous source is not the only hypothesis that will explain the continuity, however. Consider the following line of reasoning. If we begin with Lk. 22-23 as we find it in our present Gospel, we expect a continuous story. The finished Gospel is given its continuity by the Evangelist. If we then extract the small amount of Marcan material which Taylor says is in Lk. 22-23, we still have a fair but real continuity. The reason, however, is the small amount of Marcan material extracted from the continuous story of the finished Gospel. The continuity, therefore, is still that of the Evangelist. It requires no continuous source to explain it. To argue that the continuity of Luke's non-Marcan material is due to a continuous source would necessitate showing that the continuity is not due to the Evangelist. If, however, it can be shown that the structure is due to the Evangelist in the final stage of the Gospel's composition, then the argument of Taylor falls to the ground. The parallels between Lk. 22-23 and Lk. 9 have given us just such proof as we need.

In both the second and the third of Taylor's arguments, the inner logic is the same. The same argument answers them. The continuity of the finished Gospel is due to the Evangelist. The removal of the Marcan material would not disturb the final arrangement of the Gospel. Therefore, no continuous source is needed to explain the facts to which Taylor points. We must conclude, then, that the large amount of non-Marcan material in the passion narrative of Lk. does not logically demand a continuous non-Marcan source.

made to Mark in this section. Second, we will list the Marcan pericopes omitted by Luke. These include Mark 6:17-29,[66] Mark 6:45-8:26,[67] and Mark 9:9-13.[68] A cursory glance at the contents of these pericopes enables us to see that they would have no place in the parallelism between Luke 9:1-48 and 22:7-23:16. It is to be expected that they would be omitted by the Third Evangelist.[69]

Third, we will examine the modifications Luke makes in the Marcan material he uses. Into this category fall all nine pericopes of Luke 9:1-48. The first of these pericopes is Luke 9:1-6=Mark 6:7-13 (parallel to Luke 22:35). The parallel consists of the sending out of the Twelve and the regulations for their journey. A significant modification of Mark is found in the regulations. Mark 6:8 has them take nothing except a staff. Luke 9:3 and 22:35 have them take nothing at all.

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[66] Mk. 6:17-29=the death of the Baptist.

[67] Mk. 6:45-52=the walking on the water; 6:53-56=healings at Gennesaret; 7:1-23=the tradition of the elders; 7:24-30=the Syro-Phoenician woman; 7:31-37=healing of many sick persons and the deaf mute; 8:1-10=the feeding of the four thousand; 8:11-13=the Pharisees seek a sign; 8:14-21=the discourse on leaven; 8:22-26=the blind man at Bethsaida.

[68] Mk. 9:9-13=the coming of Elijah.

[69] In the past, the omission of Mk. 6:45-8:26 from Lk. has led scholars to regard this Marcan section as a later interpolation into the Gospel. This led to the UrMarkus theory. Streeter (Four G., pp. 175-78) suggests that this omission may be explained by the fact that Lk. had a mutilated copy of Mk. Both of these theories are unnecessary in the light of Lk.'s method.

The parallel between the second pericope, Luke 9:7-9=Mark 6:14-16, and Luke 23:6-16 is the presence of Herod. In 9:9 Luke adds that Herod sought to see Jesus. This is evidently to parallel 23:8 where Luke says that Herod had long desired to see him.

The third pericope is Luke 9:10-17=Mark 6:30-44. The parallel with 22:7-19 consists of Jesus speaking of the Kingdom of God in connection with a meal at which he blesses, breaks, and gives food to the disciples. Luke finds all the necessary ingredients for the parallel in Mark with one exception. To meet this deficiency, he adds verse 11 which tells how Jesus spoke of the Kingdom of God.

The next Lucan passage, 9:20-22=Mark 8:27-33, is parallel to Luke 22:31-34 because Peter makes a confession immediately after the meal. To achieve this connection between the meal and the confession, Luke omits Mark 6:45-8:26. By means of this omission the feeding of the five thousand and the confession of Peter are placed side by side.[70]

The fifth pericope is Luke 9:23-27=Mark 8:34-9:1. It is parallel with 22:28-30 by virtue of the statement, "If any man would come after me, let him . . . take up his cross daily and follow me," which is echoed in the words,

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[70] This explains exactly why Mk. 6:45-8:26 is omitted. See n. 69.

"You are those who have continued with me in my trials." The Lucan addition of the word "daily" is probably in line with the emphasis of "continued with me."

Luke 9:28-36 alters Mark 9:2-8 significantly in order to achieve the parallel with Luke 22:39-46. Luke adds three facts to Mark's account. He says: (1) Jesus was praying, (2) the conversation between Jesus and the two heavenly figures who appeared (ὀφθέντες) to him was about his departure, (3) the sleepiness of the disciples is mentioned.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth pericopes have no variations from Mark relevant to our purposes. They are: (1) Luke 9:37-43a=Mark 9:14-29, (2) Luke 9:43b-45=Mark 9:30-32, (3) Luke 9:46-48=Mark 9:33-37.

This investigation has shown two facts. On the one hand, we have seen that when Luke uses Mark without important changes it is because the necessary elements for the parallel are present in the source. On the other hand, we have seen that when Luke either omits Marcan pericopes or significantly alters his source, it is in the interest of the parallelism with Luke 22:7-23:16. We must conclude, therefore, that just as Acts is parallel to the Third Gospel and Peter is parallel to Paul in Acts, so Luke 9 is parallel to Luke 22-23, tying the Galilean ministry to Jesus' visit to Jerusalem. These parallels, moreover, are due to the intention of the author.

The fourth example of the Third Evangelist's method of arrangement is found in Luke 4:16-8:56. The parallels may be listed as follows:[71]

	Luke 4:16-7:17			Luke 7:18-8:56
4:16-30	Fulfillment is viewed in terms of Jesus' healing and his preaching good news to the poor. The people take offence at Jesus.	1.	7:18-23	Fulfillment is viewed in terms of Jesus' healing and his preaching good news to the poor. Blessed is he who takes no offence at me.
4:31-41	Jesus is in conflict with the demons. One cries, "What have you to do with us, Jesus of Nazareth? Have you come to destroy us? I know who you are, the Holy One of God."	2.	8:26-39	Jesus is in conflict with demons. They say, "What have you to do with me, Jesus, Son of the Most High God? I beseech you not to torment me."
5:1-11	Jesus is in a boat with Simon. A nature miracle takes place.	3.	8:22-25	Jesus is in a boat with his disciples. A nature miracle takes place.
5:17-26	While Jesus is in the company of some Pharisees there arises the question of Jesus' forgiving sins. Jesus tells the man, "Man, your sins are forgiven you."	4.	7:36-50	While Jesus eats with a Pharisee the question of forgiveness of sins arises. Jesus tells the woman, "Your sins are forgiven."
5:27-6:5	Jesus and his disciples are shown eating and drinking in contrast to John's disciples who fast often.	5.	7:31-35	John came not eating and drinking. The Son of Man came eating and drinking.

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[71] The parallels, of course, are not in exactly the same order. There is a corresponding sequence in 1 and 8, 9.

6:12-16	The Twelve are chosen. This immediately precedes Jesus' teaching within the hearing of the crowds.	6. 8:1-3	Jesus is with the Twelve. This immediately precedes Jesus' teaching the crowds.
6:17-49	Jesus teaches the multitudes. The conclusion concerns "hearing" Jesus' teaching and "doing" it.	7. 8:4-8, 16-21	Jesus teaches the multitudes. The conclusion concerns "hearing" Jesus' teaching and "doing" it.
7:1-10	A healing story. The emphasis is on the faith of the one who came to Jesus. This precedes a resurrection story.	8. 8:43-48	A healing story. The emphasis is on the faith of the woman who came to Jesus. This precedes a resurrection story.
7:11-17	Jesus raises the widow's son. He says to him, "Young man, I say to you, arise."	9. 8:40-42, 49-56	Jesus raises Jairus' daughter. He says to her, "Child, arise."

Are these parallels due to the Third Evangelist? Again we must examine the Evangelist's use of his sources. Let us begin by noting the Marcan pericopes omitted by Luke 4:16-8:56. There are six such passages. They are: (1) Mark 1:16-20, the call of the first disciples, (2) Mark 3:20-22, the Pharisees' accusation, (3) Mark 3:23-30, the Beelzebub controversy, (4) Mark 4:26-29, the parable of the seed growing quietly, (5) Mark 4:30-32, the parable of the mustard seed, (6) Mark 4:33-34, Jesus' use of parables.

Two of these Marcan passages are in another context in Luke. Mark 3:20-22 is probably the source of Luke 11:14-16.

Mark 4:30-32 is probably the source for Luke 13:18-19.

All of these six omissions from Luke 4:16-8:56 would have no place in the parallels of this section. Their omission from this context, therefore, is easily explained.

Next we need to examine the modifications of Mark made by Luke. There are eight passages that must be checked. The first of these is Luke 4:31-41=Mark 1:21-34. The element that makes this section parallel to Luke 8:26-39 is Jesus' act of casting out demons. There are significant changes here. In 4:33 Luke adds φωνῆ μεγάλη to parallel 8:28. In 4:39 Jesus rebukes the fever in words reminiscent of the rebuking of the demon in 4:35. Mark 1:31 merely has Jesus take the woman by the hand and raise her up. Luke, therefore, regards the fever as a demon and its cure as an exorcism. In 4:41a Luke adds the confession of the exorcized demons, "You are the Son of God." This parallels 8:28. In 4:41b the Third Evangelist adds the significant word used in the two preceding pericopes, ἐπιτιμῶν . This makes the section a unity. It is a unity created by Luke to parallel 8:26-39.

In Luke 8:26-39 no changes of Mark 5:1-20 are necessary for the parallel. The changes were made in Luke 4:31-41.

The next passage is Luke 5:17-26=Mark 2:1-12. The element which parallels this pericope with Luke 7:36-50 is the association of Jesus with Pharisees when the question of the forgiveness of sins arises. It is significant, therefore, that Luke 5:17 adds to Mark that ἦσαν καθήμενοι Φαρισαῖοι. This, of course, is one element of the parallel.

Luke 5:27-6:5=Mark 2:13-28 is parallel to Luke 7:31-35 because both contrast the behavior of Jesus and his disciples who eat and drink with that of John and his disciples who do not eat and drink. There are some important modifications of Marcan language to accent this fact. Luke 5:29 adds ἐποίησεν δοχὴν μεγάλην Λευὶς αὐτῶ to heighten the emphasis on Jesus' eating and drinking. Luke 5:30 adds καὶ πίνετε to the ἐσθίετε of Mark 2:16 for the sake of the parallel with Luke 7:34 which has both eating and drinking. Mark 2:18 reads, "Your disciples do not fast." Luke 5:33 changes the wording so that it reads, "Yours eat and drink." This was certainly in the interest of the parallel. Luke 6:1b changes the phrasing of Mark 2:23b from οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἤρξαντο ὁδὸν ποιεῖν τίλλοντες τοὺς στάχυας to καὶ ἔτιλλον οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ *καὶ ἤσθιον* [italics mine] τοὺς στάχυας ψώχοντες ταῖς χερσίν. The reason is obvious.

There is no pertinent alteration of the content of Mark 3:13-19 by Luke 6:12-16. There is, however, a significant change of context. Whereas Mark places the choice of the Twelve prior to the Beelzebub controversy, Luke locates it just prior to the sermon on the plain. The shift of context is clearly to parallel the reference to the Twelve in 8:1-3 which also precedes Jesus' teaching in the presence of the multitudes.

Luke 8:4-8, 16-21=Mark 4:1-9, 21-25; 3:31-35, is parallel to Luke 6:17-49 by the following facts: (1) both have Jesus teaching the crowds, (2) both are preceded by a reference to the Twelve, (3) both conclude with an emphasis on hearing and doing. Both the beginning and the end of this Lucan section have meaningful alterations of Mark. First, Luke 8:4 changes Mark 4:1's ὄχλος πλεῖστος to ὄχλου πολλοῦ to parallel Luke 6:17's ὄχλος πολὺς. Then, Luke alters the context of Mark 3:31-35. Instead of the passage on Christ's real brethren coming before the parable of the sower as in Mark, Luke places it at the very end of the section. That Luke 8:19-21 belongs to the section where Jesus teaches the crowds is clear from 8:19. The reason for the shift in context is due to the fact that 8:18-21 ends on the note of hearing and doing the word of God. This is obviously intentional.

The last two of the eight Marcan passages used by Luke in this particular section have no important alterations made in them. They are Luke 8:43-48=Mark 5:25-34 and Luke 8:40-42, 49-56=Mark 5:21-24, 35-43.

This investigation of Luke's modification of Marcan material points to a conscious design of the Third Evangelist.

We must now note the additions to Mark made by Luke in 4:14-8:56. There are nine of these additions. Four of them are Q passages. Five of them are L material. The Q passages are: (1) Luke 6:20-49, the sermon on the plain (parallel to 8:4-8, 16-21),[72] (2) Luke 7:1-10, the centurion's servant (parallel to 8:43-48),[73] (3) Luke 7:18-23, the Baptist's question (parallel to 4:16-30),[74] (4) Luke 7:24-35, Christ's testimony to the Baptist (parallel to 5:27-6:5).[75] The L passages are: (1) Luke 4:16-30, the rejection at Nazareth (parallel to 7:18-23), (2) Luke 5:1-11, the miraculous draught of fishes (parallel to 8:22-25), (3) Luke

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[72] There are no relevant changes in the Q material. Lk. does precede 6:20-49 with vss. 17-19 which belong to the parallel. Lk. 6:17-19 is a free rewriting of Mk. 3:7-12. There are four significant changes. They are: (1) in a change of context, Lk. places Mk. 3:7-12 after rather than before the choice of the Twelve, (2) whereas Mk. 3:7 has Jesus simply μετὰ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, Lk. 6:17 has *ὄχλος πολὺς* μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ . . . ἦλθον , (Italics mine), (3) whereas Mk. 3:8 has the crowd because of ἀκούοντες ὅσα ποιεῖ come to Jesus to be healed, Lk. 6:17 has the crowd of people come to Jesus *ακοῦσαι αὐτοῦ* καὶ ἰασθῆναι, (Italics mine), (4) Luke adds vs. 19 which speaks of all the crowd. What is the meaning of these changes? They all seem to be in the interest of making Jesus teach in the presence of the crowds. The change of context for Mk. 3:7-12 was certainly for this purpose. The disciples become a great crowd to emphasize the point. The crowds come not because they have heard what he has done but to hear him. The pericope ends with the reiteration of all the crowd being near him. These changes intend to say that the teaching of Jesus was in the hearing of the crowds as in 8:4. Though 6:20 would seem to indicate otherwise, the presence of 7:1 establishes this interpretation of 6:17-19. Lk. 7:1 clearly states that the teaching was heard by the crowds. This, therefore, is intentional change in the interest of the parallel with 8:4-8, 16-21.

[73] No relevant changes.

[74] Lk. adds vs. 21 to parallel 4:21. The emphasis is on the now.

[75] No relevant changes.

7:11-17, the widow's son at Nain (parallel to 8:40-42, 49-56), (4) Luke 7:36-50, the woman who was a sinner (parallel to 5:17-26), (5) Luke 8:1-3, the ministering women (parallel to 6:12-16).

Let us note that in Luke 4:16-8:56 the four Q passages added by the Evangelist are necessary for four of the parallels. One Q pericope is parallel to L material.[76] The other Q passages are parallel to Marcan material.[77] Let us also note that the five L passages added by the Third Evangelist are necessary for five of the parallels. Four of the parallels are with Marcan material.[78] Let us note, however, that in only one case are the parallels from Marcan material alone.[79]

The force of this evidence cannot be denied. The addition of non-Marcan material in Luke 4:16-8:56 is in the interest of the parallelism between the content of 4:16-7:17 and 7:18-8:56.

The evidence that we have derived from each test applied to Luke's use of his sources in this section has pointed to the same conclusion. The parallelism is due to the Evangelist's structural design.

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[76] Lk. 4:16-30=L, parallels 7:18-23=Q.

[77] Lk. 5:27-6:5=Mk., parallels 7:31-35=Q; 6:20-49=Q, parallels 8:4-8=Mk.; 7:1-10+Q, parallels 8:43-48=Mk.

[78] Lk. 5:1-11=L, parallels 8:22-25=Mk.; 7:36-50=L, parallels 5:17-26; 8:1-3=L, parallels 6:12-16=Mk.; 7:11-17=L, parallels 8:40-42, 49-56=Mk.

[79] Lk. 4:31-41=Mk., parallels 8:26-39=Mk.

The fifth example of Luke's organizational method is found in Acts 1-5. This example consists of a parallelism between Acts 1:12-4:23 and 4:24-5:42. The parallels may be seen in the following list.

	Acts 1:12-4:23			Acts 4:24-5:42
1:12-26	Gathered together the church is at prayer.	1.	4:24-31a	Gathered together the church is at prayer.
2:1-13	They were all filled with the Holy Spirit.	2.	4:31b	They were all filled with the Holy Spirit.
2:14-41	Peter preaches.	3.	4:31c	They spoke the word of God with boldness.
2:42-47	The communal life of the church is portrayed.	4.	4:32-35	The communal life of the church. It is illustrated in examples in 4:36-37 and 5:1-10.
2:43a	Fear comes upon every soul.	5.	5:5b, 11	Fear comes upon the whole church and all who heard.
2:43b	Wonders and signs are done by the apostles	6.	5:12a	Signs and wonders are done by the apostles.
3:1-11	A lame man is healed by Peter and John.	7.	5:13-16	Healings by Peter.
3:12-26	Peter delivers a speech in Solomon's Portico.	8.	5:12b	They are all together in Solomon's Portico.
4:1-7	The apostles are arrested by the Sadducees. They are kept in custody until the morrow. Then they are brought before the council.	9.	5:17-28	The apostles are arrested by the Sadducees. They are kept in custody over night. Then they are brought before the council.

4:8-12, 19-20 Peter's defense.	10. 5:30-32 Peter's defense.
4:13-17 The council deliberates.	11. 5:33-39 The council deliberates.
4:18, 21-23 The apostles are released.	12. 5:40-42 The apostles are released.

Are these parallels due to the author of Acts? This question leads to an examination of three basic positions[80] on the problem of sources in Acts 1-5.[81]

The first position claims one continuous source for the initial part of Acts. The classic representative of this position is C. C. Torrey.[82] He asserts that Acts 1:1-15:35 is a faithful translation of an original Aramaic document. This document was written about A.D. 49 or 50 by a Jerusalemite. Its chief interest was in the universal mission of Christianity. After Luke had already written the Third Gospel this document came into his hands. It gave him the idea of writing Acts. So he translated the Aramaic source, Acts 1:1-15:35, and then composed 15:36-28:31 in Greek.[83] If Torrey is right, then the parallels were already present in Luke's source. It is necessary, therefore, to examine the evidence for and against one continuous source in Acts 1-15.

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[80] A fourth position which advocates that Mk. 16:8 originally continued at least through Acts 1-12 will not be treated due to its limited acceptance. Two examples of this position are: (1) F. C. Burkitt, "The Use of Mark in the Gospel according to Luke," BC., II, 118, (2) Alfred E. Haefner, "The Bridge between Mark and Acts," JBL, LXXVII (1958), 67-71. The second article may be consulted for further bibliography.

Nor will we consider it necessary to treat the source theory of Trocmé, whose scheme for Acts 1-5 includes: (1) a homogeneous written document for Acts 3-5, to which Lk. has added the discourses, the summaries, and the episode of Ananias in 5:1-11, (2) some traditions which the author has handled freely for chap. 1, (3) a source for chap. 2, to which Lk. has added minor retouches, verses 7-11 that come from another document, and verses 22-36 which go back to a particular document. (Livre, pp. 191-207) The reasons for our neglect of this theory are two: (1) the fact that such a theory, if true, leaves a great deal of room for artistic skill in the composition of Acts, (2) the fact that such a theory, if false, does not affect our research.

[81] The best single survey of the sources of Acts is Dom Jacques Dupont, Les sources du Livre des Actes: État de la question (Burges: Desclée de Brouwer, 1960). Cited hereafter as Les sources. Henry J. Cadbury has said that he is unaware of any important omission of relevant literature (A Review of Les sources du Livre des Actes: Etat de la question, by D. J. Dupont, JBL, LXXX [1961], 79). We will consider ourselves safe, therefore, to operate within the scope of Dupont's survey.

Torrey's arguments for his position are four.[84] They are all based on linguistic evidence.[85] First, there is the presence of Semitisms in Acts 1:1-15:35. These Semitisms are not Hebrew but Aramaic idiom. Second, there is evidence of mistranslation from Aramaic into Greek in chapters 1-15. Third, the first half of Acts is homogeneous as regards both the presence of Semitisms and that of mistranslations. Fourth, there is the contrast with the second half of Acts. Acts 15:36-chapter 28 is also homogeneous in character. In it, however, the Semitisms are negligible. The few apparent ones can be charged either to the koine or to the influence of the Septuagint.

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[82] Charles Cutler Torrey, The Composition and Date of Acts ("Harvard Theological Studies," I; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1916), pp. 64-65. Sahlin, Mess. Gv., who follows Torrey, fares no better against Torrey's critics.

[83] Ibid., pp. 67-68.

[84] Ibid., chap. 1.

[85] W. J. Wilson, "The Unity of the Aramaic Acts," HTR, XI (1918), 322-35, supports Torrey's claims. Wilson's basic argument beyond those of Torrey is the literary and artistic unity of Acts 1-15. The fallacy of such an argument, of course, is evident. Such a unity could just as easily be due to the author of Acts as to his source. Only if one assumes already the one Aramaic document would such an argument appear plausible.

Against Torrey's claims there has been assembled a massive array of scholarly argument. The results have been telling against his theory.[86] The evidence against Torrey falls into four categories.

The first group of arguments used against the claim for one continuous source in Acts 1-15 is linguistic. The second half of Acts has an imposing array of Semitisms. It is incorrect, therefore, to make so sharp a contrast between the first and second halves of Acts as Torrey does.[87] The Semitisms of Acts 1-15, moreover, are uneven. Only the case for 1:1-5:16 and 9:31-11:18 is strong.[88] This questions the unity of the first half of Acts. Also, there is really no difficulty in the Greek that Torrey finds so objectionable.

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[86] Dupont, Les sources, p. 31.

[87] J. de Zwaan, "The Use of the Greek Language in Acts," BC, II, 45-46, cited hereafter as "Gk. Acts." H. F. D. Sparks, "The Semitisms of the Acts," JTS, New Series, I (1950), 20. Cited hereafter as "Sem. A."

[88] Zwaan, "Gk. Acts," pp. 48, 56.

It does not require an Aramaic source to explain it.[89] The quotations from the Old Testament are not from the Hebrew Bible, as one would expect if Acts 1-15 is a translation from Aramaic. The quotations are from the Septuagint.[90] The fact that the Aramaic specialists cannot agree among themselves as to what is a mistranslation, moreover, does not argue convincingly for Torrey's accuracy.[91]

The second category of argument used against Torrey's position is historical. Whereas in the Gospel Luke had predecessors, it is likely that in Acts he was an innovator. Not only is there a lack of positive evidence for any Acts before the Acts of the Apostles, but there is a difficulty in conceiving of an historical setting for such an Aramaic document about A.D. 49.[92]

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[89] F. C. Burkitt, "Professor Torrey on 'Acts'," JTS, XX (1919), 320-29; H. J. Cadbury, "Luke--Translator or Author?" AJT, XXIV (1920), 447-53, cited hereafter as "Translator"; A. A. Vazakas, "Is Acts 1-15:35 a Literal Translation from an Aramaic Original?" JBL, XXXVII (1918), 105-10.

[90] A. W. Argyle, "The Theory of an Aramaic Source in Acts 2:14-40," JTS, New Series, IV (1953), 213-14; Sparks, "Sem. A.," 19; Bruce M. Metzger, "Scriptural Quotations in Q Material," ET, LXV (1954), 125, argues, however, that Bishop Rabbula's translation into Syriac of Cyril of Alexandria's de recta fide, where both Greek and Syriac translations are extant, shows the Syrian Bishop often conformed his rendering of the Gospel quotations made by Cyril to the current form of the Syriac vernacular scriptures. This questions the premise of Argyle and Sparks.

[91] Matthew Black, An Aramaic Approach to the Gospels and Acts (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 4, 6-7; Donald W. Riddle, "The Logic of Translation Greek," JBL, LI (1932), 17-18. Cited hereafter as "Logic."

[92] Edgar J. Goodspeed, "The Origin of Acts," JBL, XXXIX (1920), 86-90; Riddle, "Logic," pp. 15-16.

The third category of argument used against Torrey is literary. Torrey's theory would make Luke nothing more than a faithful translator. The prefaces, the elaborate dating, and the speeches in Acts would seem to point on the contrary in the opposite direction. Like the Hellenistic historians Luke was a real author and editor.[93]

The final argument against Torrey is theological. In ideas, theology, and general outlook, the first and second halves of Acts are a unity.[94]

Such arguments have virtually demolished Torrey's claim that one continuous Aramaic document lies behind Acts 1:1-15:35. They have not, however, kept some scholars from claiming that an Aramaic source lies behind Acts 1:1-5:16.[95] For example, R. R. Williams[96] claims "to set out those points which command general agreement." In this context he says that "for Acts 1-5:16 an Aramaic source is thought to have been established." (Italics mine) This, of course, is the section in which Torrey's case for an Aramaic original is the strongest. The claim, therefore, for an Aramaic source in 1:1-5:16 rests upon the same grounds as the claim for

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[93] Cadbury, "Translator," p. 455.

[94] Sparks, "Sem. A.," p. 21.

[95] Bruce, Speeches, p. 8, thinks that the evidence is strong for an Aramaic written source behind the greater part of chaps. 1-5.

[96] R. R. Williams, The Acts of the Apostles ("Torch Bible Commentaries"; London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1953), p. 21.

1:1-15:35.

In response to this variation of Torrey's theory we may offer several arguments. First, at the present stage of New Testament research it would be necessary for one who would argue for one continuous written source for Acts 1-5 to assume the burden of proof. Second, what are the Semitisms and possible mistranslations, if granted at face value, able to prove? Do they prove that the tradition was originally in a Semitic form? Do they prove that the Semitic tradition was originally contained in one continuous source? The evidence may possibly bear the weight of the former fact. By no means, however, is it sufficient to demonstrate the latter. Third, we may argue from analogy. In the instances of the other parallels in Luke and Acts, the author has been shown to be responsible for the structure. It is, therefore, probable that this would be the case here also.

Even if a continuous source for 1:1-5:16 should be granted, however, it would not rule out the author's active part in the arrangement of these chapters. On the one hand, we would still have to reckon with 5:17-42 which furnishes some of the parallels. Why did the author add it to his source? On the other hand, we would have to deal with the summaries in these chapters. These summaries, which furnish some of the parallels, are very possibly Luke's own work.[97]

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[97] H. J. Cadbury, "The Summaries in Acts," BC, V, pp. 397-98, 401-02.

By either means of reasoning, therefore, it is impossible to rule out the active part played by the author of Acts in the parallel structure of Acts 1-5. In response to the claim that one continuous source lies behind Acts 1-5 to which the parallelism of these chapters is due, we must reply in the negative.

The second position on the problem of sources for Acts 1-5 asserts that there are two parallel sources lying side by side. The classic presentation of this position is made by Adolf Harnack.[98] He claims that there are two parallel accounts of the same events in Acts 2-5. Jerusalem Source A includes 3:1-5:16. It is a good historical tradition for Philip probably stands behind it.[99] Jerusalem Source B includes Acts 2 and 5:17-42. Apart from a few details it is historically worthless as compared to A.[100] There is no evidence as to who stands behind it. "Luke did not perceive that he was reproducing two traditions concerning the same occurrences, so that the connection of events in the narrative which he has compiled is altogether poor, illogical, and incredible."[101] If this position is correct, the parallels are present because of Luke's failure to understand the nature of his sources.

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[98] Adolf Harnack, The Acts of the Apostles, Vol. III: New Testament Studies, trans. J. R. Wilkinson ("Crown Theological Library," XXVII; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), chap. v.

[99] Ibid., pp. 188-93.

[100] Ibid., pp. 194-95.

[101] Ibid., p. 183.

In response to Harnack,[102] several criticisms must be voiced. First, the section, 1:12-26, definitely belongs within the parallelism. Second, it is pointless to take 3:1-5:16 out of its context in Acts and attempt to join chapter 2 and 5:17-42. It is much more natural to see the parallels in the material in its present context in Acts, 1:12-4:23 paralleling 4:24-5:42. It also makes the parallels more complete. Third, it is highly improbable that the parallels are due to the ignorance of Luke. His intricate method of arrangement elsewhere in the two books argues for his awareness in the composition of Acts 1-5. If these modifications are accepted, it does not concern this thesis whether or not the parallels point to sources. Granted these

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[102] The discussion initiated by Harnack may be summarized as follows:

1. F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, "The Internal Evidence of Acts," BC, II, 144-47, think that the hypothesis of Torrey, as far as its linguistic side is concerned, combines with that of Harnack so that the latter's Jerusalem sources A and B are thought of in Aramaic terms. It is doubtful whether Acts 4:36-5:11 should go with the one or the other.

2. Joachim Jeremias, "Untersuchungen zum Quellenproblem der Apostelgeschichte," ZNW, XXXVI (1937), 205-13, argues that when viewed from rabbinic legal practice, the similar stories are not references to the same events. They are references to two different aspects of a Jewish trial. The parallels, therefore, are not indications of two different sources.

3. Werner Georg Kuemmel, "Das Urchristentum," TR, neue Folge, XIV (1942), 169, expresses his approval of Jeremias' conclusion. The parallels in Acts 1-5 are not references to the same events.

4. G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Acts of the Apostles," The Interpreter's Bible, ed. George Buttrick (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1954), IX, 70, accepts Harnack's general analysis. He makes the following modifications: (1) Acts 2:42-47 and 4:32-35 may be ascribed either to Jerusalem sources B and A respectively, or may be regarded as editorial summaries from neither source, (2) Acts 5:12b-16 provides the same prelude to the arrest of the disciples in 5:17-18 as does the healing of the man in 3:1-10 to their arrest in 4:1-3, making it tempting to transfer 5:12b-16 to Jerusalem source B to which 5:17-18 belong, or to suppose they are Luke's own composition, (3) Acts 5:12a should be combined with 5:11 to form a conclusion to Jerusalem source A parallel to 2:43 which concludes Jerusalem source B, (4) Acts 2 should follow chap. 5 for then the Jerusalem source B is a complete narrative parallel in detail to Jerusalem source A in 3:1-5:12a.

5. Bo Ivar Reicke, Glaube und Leben der Urgemeinde: Bemerkungen zu Apostelgeschichte 1-7 ("Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments," XXXII; Zurich: Zwingli-Verlag, 1957), p. 55, says that the section 2:42-5:42 is in two parallel traditions. The first is 2:42-4:31. The second is 4:32-5:42. In chaps. iv and v he gives the following scheme:

Theme A	: The Community
2:42	1. 4:32-37
2:43a	2. 5:1-11
2:43b	3. 5:12a
2:44-47b	4. 5:13
2:47c	5. 5:14
Theme B	: Sadducean Persecution
3:1-11	1. 5:15-16
3:12-26	2. 5:17-18, 19-21a
4:1-4	3. 5:21b-26
4:5-7	4. 5:27-28
4:8-14	5. 5:29-33
4:15-16	6. 5:34-39a
4:17-20	7. 5:39b-40a
4:21-22	8. 5:40b
4:23-30	9. 5:41
4:31	10. 5:42

Reicke argues that these were originally the same events. Luke brought the two traditions together (p. 109). Their origin was probably in the circle around Peter because he plays the chief role in the two cases. Whether these traditions were written or oral cannot be distinguished. Probably, however, they were oral (p. 111).

6. Dupont, *Les sources*, pp. 49-50, sides with Jeremias.

modifications, the parallelism is due to the intentional design of the author of Acts.

The third position on the sources for Acts 1-5 applies the principles of form criticism to these chapters. There is no continuous account on which the author of Acts 1-5 is dependent. He is dependent, instead, primarily on small units of tradition which were originally handed down independently.[103] These independent units of tradition were first joined together by the author of Acts. He organized them dramatically in accord with his didactic purpose.[104] If this position is correct,[105] then the parallels are due

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[103] Dibelius, *Stud. A. A.*, pp. 9, 12.

[104] Ernst Haenchen, "Tradition und Komposition in der Apostelgeschichte," *ZTK*, LII (1955), 209, 212.

[105] The persuasiveness of this position may be seen in its influence upon two scholars.

1. Dupont (*Les sources*, pp. 56-58) relates the case of L. Cerfaux. In 1936 Cerfaux's analysis of the sources of Acts included a document, reproduced with only slight retouches, behind Acts 2:41-5:40. Since 1939, however, Cerfaux has ceased to speak of one written document, well delimited, homogeneous, and possessing characteristic traits. Now he thinks it is impossible to delimit any written sources.

2. W. L. Knox (*A. A.*, pp. 19-22) doubts Harnack's theory of two written sources behind Acts 2-5. It is much more probable that Luke collected his material from oral tradition.

The remark of Dupont regarding Cerfaux's change is applicable also to the stance of Knox. "L'évolution qui s'est produite dans les recherches et dans la manière d'aborder les questions est due, en majeure partie, à l'apport des méthodes de la *Formgeschichte*." (p. 58)

It is difficult to resist the force of this third position. The arguments in its favor are two. The first is the unconvincing character of the other alternatives in present scholarship. The second is the historical argument. It is widely felt in modern research that the earliest to the final redactor of Acts and have a theological function.

Christians lived in expectation of an immediate return of Christ. As a corollary of this it is held that the historical sense arises only when one comes to grips with the fact of ongoing time. It is concluded, therefore, that the earliest Christians were a non-literary people. It is not possible to conceive of any motivation for them to write if they lived expecting the end of the world just around the corner. It is natural to think, therefore, in terms of oral tradition. The Christians would only become a literary people when the end of the world was delayed so that they had to reckon with ongoing time.

A problem, however, is posed by the Qumran community. Here is a religious community within Judaism, expecting the end of the age in the not too distant future. Yet this eschatological community is at the same time a literary community. Qumran's writings include statements about the past from which they came, the persecutions endured by their founder, their priestly opponents, their attempt to order their lives in accord with God's will, and their preparations for the future triumph of God. The Qumran covenanters are a literary people not because they are having to reckon with the delay of the parousia, but because they are reckoning with an imminent end. Eschatology is not the source of their literary inactivity. It is the source of their literary productivity.

Such a phenomenon as this eschatological but literary community within first-century Judaism gives us a means by which we can conceive of a Christian community which is both eschatological and literary. In light of the content of Qumran's literary productions, there is nothing a priori impossible about the kerygma, including both the story of Jesus and that of the apostles, being in written form. Nor is there any a priori reason why the first chapters of Acts, the passion narrative, and even the story of John the Baptist, may not have been written statements of the Christian community similar in character to the literary products of Qumran.

This historical factor reopens the question of written sources for early Christianity, both about the life of Jesus and that of the Church. This, however, belongs to the future. It does not materially affect our present discussion of the structure of Acts 1-5.

After having examined the three basic positions on the sources of Acts 1-5 we have come to two conclusions. On the one hand, the theory of Torrey and his followers who see one continuous written source behind Acts 1-5 must be considered untenable. On the other hand, if Harnack's two source theory is modified as we have indicated, it makes little difference whether or not the parallels point to sources. In either case the author of Acts would be responsible for the presence of the parallels. It seems legitimate, therefore, to say that the parallels of Acts 1-5 cannot be explained apart from the author's intentional design.

Let us summarize the results of this second argument. We have examined five examples of parallelism in the Gospel and Acts. We have seen that the Acts is parallel to the Gospel,[106] that in Acts Paul is parallel to Peter,[107] that in the Gospel chapter 9 (Galilee) is parallel to chapters 22-23 (Jerusalem),[108] that in Luke the section 4:16-7:17 is parallel to 7:18-8:56,[109] and that in Acts the section 1:12-4:23 is parallel to 4:24-5:42.[110] The parallel between the Gospel and Acts seems to be the basic structure, because each of the other parallels plays a part in it. The Petrine-Pauline parallel of Acts becomes a part of Acts' parallelism with the Gospel by virtue of the parallel between chapter 9 and chapters 22-23 in Luke.[111] Also, the parallel between 1:12-4:23 and 4:24-5:42 in Acts plays its part in the Gospel-Acts parallelism because of the parallel between 4:16-7:17 and 7:18-8:56 in Luke.[112] The true force of this design can be felt if it is put in the form of a diagram.

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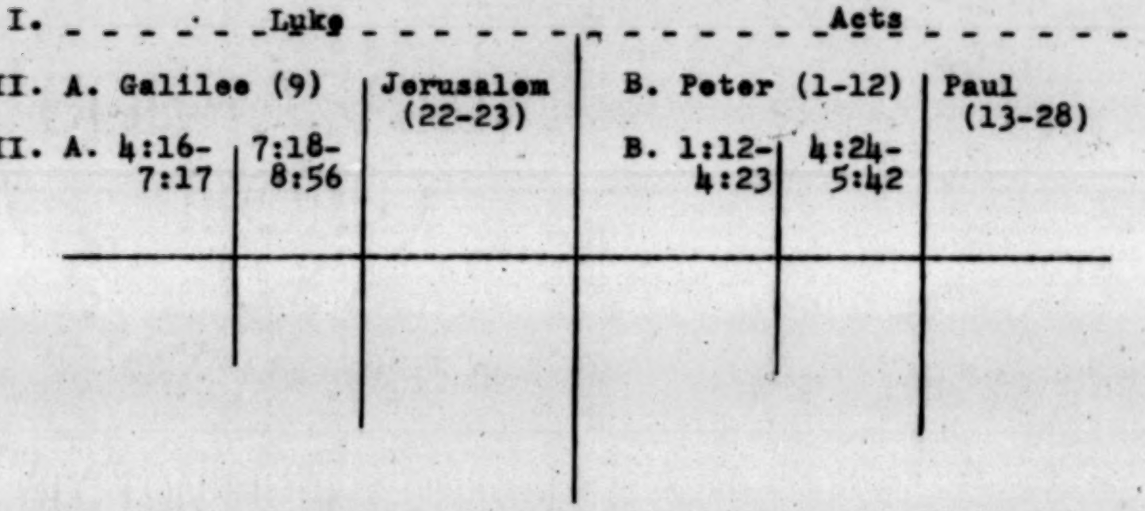
[106] This parallel is of both content and sequence.
[107] This parallel is of content, not sequence.
[108] This parallel is of content, not sequence.
[109] This parallel is mostly of content but there are also points of sequence involved.
[110] This parallel is of both content and sequence.



In spite of the fact that we have tried to show that Luke handled his sources so as to construct the various parallels, two questions are bound to arise.

On the one hand, could the changes we have noted that

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[111] All that we mean by this is that each of the two volumes is divided into two parallel parts. We do not mean to imply that the content of the Petrine half of Acts is parallel to the content of Lk. 9.

[112] The same can be said here as in n. 111.

Luke made in his sources be due to other causes? For example, could the way the Third Evangelist treated his sources in Luke 9 and 22-23 be due to other reasons than that of his desire to construct a parallelism between Galilee and Jerusalem? Two things can be said in reply to such a query. First, it is conceivable that some of the changes in his sources could be due to reasons other than the parallelism, if we take each change singly, in isolation from all the other alterations. To suppose, however, that every change, taken together, could be explained without recourse to the parallelism we have presented above is improbable. It is to posit a degree of circumstance that is more difficult to believe than the present alternative.[113] Second, the parallels which are generally accepted, such as those between Peter and Paul in Acts, lend probability to the other parallels, such as those between Luke 9 and 22-23. Therefore, though it can never be demonstrated absolutely that no other explanation is possible for Luke's use of his sources, for these two reasons the probability of the parallelism being intentional is sufficiently high to warrant acceptance of this proposal until a better case is presented to the contrary.

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[113] In this light, the more parallels we present, the stronger the case, because the higher the degree of circumstance that would have to be posited to explain the Lucan treatment of sources on other grounds.

On the other hand, are there any indications either that Luke intended his readers to see the parallelism or that his readers would have looked for such a structure? Two things may be said in reply. First, it is likely that Luke's readers would have expected his narrative to be constructed in some such way. At least the structure of the Gospel of Matthew, written near the time of Luke and Acts, would lead us to think so. That Matthew was written with a fivefold structure indicates that such a practice was not foreign to the Christian communities near the end of the first century.[114] Second, it is probable that Luke intended his readers to see his parallelism. That Luke follows a law of doubleness (Zweigliedrigkeit) in his words, sentences, sections, and even in his whole work, has been fully argued by Robert Morgenthaler.[115] It would be impossible for a reader to miss this basic form. Moreover, lest the reader do just that, Luke 1-2 is constructed in panels paralleling Jesus and John.[116] Like a key signature in music, these panels serve as a guide to the reader for what is to come. As the reader progresses, he is reminded on every hand by double words and double sentences that he must look for the double sections. Luke intended for his readers to see the organization of his material in parallels.

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[114] Morton Scott Enslin, in a review of Bacon's book on Matthew, says, "Personally I am inclined to agree with his main contention that the striking arrangement of five discourses . . . is most naturally understood as not accidental but intentional." ("'The Five Books of Matthew': Bacon on the Gospel of Matthew," HTR, XXIV [1931], 87) II Maccabees 2:23 may also lend support here. See also, John Wick Bowman, The Drama of the Book of Revelation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955), which sees the Apocalypse written with a definite structure in mind. The Apocalypse, of course, comes from the Aegean basin area near the time of Luke-Acts.

[115] Morgenthaler, Luc. G.

[116] See the Appendix at the end of this thesis.

It must be said, therefore, that Luke-Acts seems to be organized around five cases of parallelism. This parallelism, moreover, is most adequately explained as the intentional procedure of the author. This design is equally characteristic of the Third Gospel and of Acts. The two volumes possess a common tendency.[117] A common tendency implies a common occasion. We can conclude, therefore, that the structure of Luke and Acts leads to the conviction that the two volumes have a common purpose.

Conclusion

We began this chapter with the assumption that Luke and Acts possess a common author. Our problem was to determine whether the two volumes possessed a common purpose. Two arguments were employed to answer this question. We have argued from both the speeches of Acts and from the structure of Luke and Acts. The results of our investigation are unanimous to their verdict. Luke and Acts have a common purpose. They need no longer be designated Luke and Acts. Hereafter, we will use with confidence the designation Luke-Acts. The two volumes are but two parts of one work.

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[117] This common tendency will be further elaborated in Chapter IV.

CHAPTER III

THE GNOSTIC PROBLEM

About two decades ago K. E. Kirk could say, "The bitterest of recent academic quarrels in theology is that which is still raging in Germany on the subject of Gnosticism."[1] The only alteration of Kirk's statement that would have to be made today is the omission of "in Germany."[2] Our thesis necessarily forces us into this debate. This third chapter, therefore, is concerned with two questions. In the first place, it will consider the problem of what Gnosticism is. This section of the chapter will attempt primarily to define how the term will be used in this thesis. In the second place, Chapter Three will consider the problem at what point in time Gnosticism, as we define it, became an issue for the Christian church. This section will concentrate in particular upon the Gnostic problem in the Aegean basin. We will treat these two issues in this order.

What Is Gnosticism?

Central to all contemporary discussion of the Gnostic problem is the matter of definition. The entire issue is complicated at the outset by the lack of clarity in the meaning of the term.[3] Identical terminology conceals differences of definition which play havoc with scholarly discussion. It is mandatory, therefore, that we make clear the definition of Gnosticism as it is used in this thesis.

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[1] Kenneth L. Kirk, The Vision of God (2d ed.; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941), p. 208.

[2] This is due in part to the Nag Hammadi discoveries and in part to the widespread influence of Bultmann.

In Modern Research

In modern research one's definition of Gnosticism is affected by the answers given to two questions. They are: (1) What should the term cover? (2) How should the phenomenon be investigated?

What should the term Gnosticism cover?--There are three possible answers to this question. The first is that the term Gnosticism should cover only such sects as were so designated by the early fathers of the church. Moreover, in the fathers there is no trace of the label Gnostic used to cover a large, ill-defined religious movement of ancient syncretism.[4] They tended to restrict the use of the term to a particular group of views such as the Ophites and Naassenes, and to describe other sects by the names of their founders.[5]

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[3] Robert McLachlan Wilson, "Some Recent Studies in Gnosticism," NTS, VI (1959), 32. Cited hereafter as "Rec. Stud."

[4] Robert P. Casey, "The Study of Gnosticism," JTS, XXXVI (1935), 55; Cadbury, "Foibles," p. 216.

[5] Henry Ernest William Turner, The Pattern of Christian Truth (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1954), p. 102.

For example, Irenaeus distinguishes between Valentinians and Gnostics[6] and between Valentinians, Marcionites and Gnostics.[7] In antiquity, therefore, the term Gnostic was not used as a designation of heretics in general. This practice was probably not begun until the eighteenth century.[8] Originally the label Gnostic covered only some few of the heresies combatted by the fathers.

The second answer is that given by most British scholars. Gnosticism should be used as a label for "a large and somewhat amorphous group of religious systems described by Irenaeus and Hippolytus in their works against Heresy . . . , and similar systems known from other sources."[9] As such it is viewed primarily as a second-century phenomenon.[10] The grounds on which this definition is held are three: (1) the fact that there are passages in Irenaeus which contain a looser and more inclusive use of the term than the first position acknowledges,[11] (2) the fact that such usage is established, customary and convenient for British scholars,[12] and (3) the fact that precision is needed and to label Hellenistic syncretism as Gnosticism would require another term for the second-century Christian heresies.[13] Gnosis, therefore, should be used as a label for the general range of heresies described by the early fathers, Irenaeus and Hippolytus.

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[6] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies*, III:xi:7.

[7] *Ibid.*, IV:v:1.

[8] Frederick Torm, "Das Wort γνωστικός," *ZNW*, XXXV (1936), 74.

[9] C. H. Dodd, *The Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel* (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), p. 97. Cited hereafter as *Int. F. G.* This position is approved by R. McL. Wilson, *The Gnostic Problem* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1958), p. 68. Cited hereafter as *Gnos. P.*

[10] Francis Crawford Burkitt, *Church and Gnosis* (Cambridge: University Press, 1932), p. 57, says, "'The Gnosis' . . . is a new formulation of Christianity, as understood by some *second-century Christians*." (Italics mine.)

[11] Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Irenaeus, *op. cit.*, IV:vi:4.

The third answer to the question, what should the term Gnosticism cover, is that it refers to "a general religious phenomenon whose historical scope infinitely surpasses the limits of ancient Christianity."[14] It is a spiritual tendency in the general area of culture, as much outside as inside Christianity.[15] It is a phase of ancient syncretism. This is the dominant German position. The grounds for this position are two. They are: (1) the fact that the label Gnosis was used in antiquity for non-Christian phenomena,[16] (2) the fact that the basic quality found in the

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[12] Turner, *op. cit.*, p. 102; Dodd, *Int. F. G.*, p. 97.

[13] R. McL. Wilson, "Gnostic Origins Again," *VC*, XI (1957), 97.

[14] Henri-Charles Puech, "Gnosis and Time," *Man and Time: Papers from the Eranos Yearbooks*, trans. Ralph Manheim ("Bollingen Series," XXX.3; New York: Pantheon Books, 1957), 55. The original is "La Gnose et le temps," *Eranos Jahrbuch*, XX (1951), 57-113.

[15] Hans Jonas, *Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist*, I: *Die mythologische Gnosis* (2d ed.; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1954), p. 1. Cited hereafter as *Gn. Spat. G.*

[16] Hermeticism defined itself as a Gnosis (Jean Doresse, *The Secret Books of the Egyptian Gnostics*, trans. Philip Mairet [London: Hollis & Carter, 1960], p. 99, n. 80.),

Christian heresy of the second century is found in non-Christian sources such as the Poimandres,[17] Jewish Gnosticism,[18] the

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and has been found at Nag Hammadi (*Ibid.*, p. 248). Moreover, the name Mandaean means Gnostic (Hans Jonas, *The Gnostic Religion* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1958], p. 39. Cited hereafter as *Gn. Re.*).

[17] Jonas, *Gn. Re.*, p. 147, says, "Not the whole Corpus can be regarded as a gnostic source . . . . There are, however, unmistakeably gnostic portions in . . . especially the first treatise of the Corpus, called 'Poimandres'." See also, Jonas, *Gn. Spat. G.*, I, 6, and Doresse, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[18] Gilles Quispel, "Christliche Gnosis und juedische Heterodoxie," *Evan. Th.*, XIV (1954), 474-84, and "The Jung Codex and its Significance," *The Jung Codex*, ed. Frank L. Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1955), 62-65, has given strong evidence for Jewish Gnosticism in the converging testimonies of the newly discovered "Treatise on the Three Natures" and the references in Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Trypho*, 62, and various references in the Talmud (Sanh. 38a) and other Jewish sources (Gen. Rab. I:7). To this evidence may be added the evidence of Hegesippus (Eusebius, *Church History*, IV:22:5) who saw the origin of Gnosis in heterodox Judaism, that of the *Clementine Homilies* (II:23-24) that traces a line of descent from John the Baptist through Dositheus to Simon Magus, and the references to Elisha ben Abuyah in the Talmud (Hag. 14b, 15a) and in Eccl. Rab. (VII:8), along with the witness of Ignatius, if the docetics and those with Jewish tendencies are the same group. That they are, see Einar Molland, "The Heretics Combatted by Ignatius of Antioch," *JEH*, V (1954), 1-6. In addition, see Marcel Simon, "Sur deux hérésies juives mentionnés par Justin Martyr, "*RHPR*, XVIII (1938), 54-58, who has attempted to show that the Genistae and Meristae who are mentioned in Justin's list of seven Jewish heresies (*Dialogue with Trypho*, 80:4) are Gnostic sects. If we add to this array of evidence the weight of Gershom G. Scholem, *Jewish Gnosticism, Merkabah Mysticism, and Talmudic Tradition* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1960), the case is certainly strong for a Jewish Gnosticism. The current trend to reopen this question will, no doubt, rescue Jewish Gnosticism from the neglect that it has suffered due, in part at least, to the unconvincing case of Moritz Friedlaender (*Der vorchristliche juedische Gnosticismus* [Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1898]).

Mandaean[19] and Manichaean[20] thought worlds, and that these[21] are best explained not as movements away from Christianity but as movements parallel with it.[22]

Within this third answer one may find two different trends. The one emphasizes continuity. It regards Gnosticism as a natural phase of the development of syncretism, not as an element of a strange nature.[23] The other emphasizes discontinuity. It thinks that the development from the Oriental nature and creation religions to a hostile-to-the-world dualism is explicable only by the introduction of a new world view.[24] Gnosticism represents a radical inbreak into the Hellenistic and Jewish worlds.[25] In either case, however, Gnosticism is used as a label for a phenomenon broader than Christian heresy.

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[19] Svend Aage Frederick Dickmann Pallis, Mandaean Studies, trans. Elizabeth Hude Pallis (2d ed. rev.; London: Oxford University Press, 1926), p. 181, says, "In its very essence . . . the Mandaean religion was typically Gnostic."

[20] Jonas, Gn. Re., p. 206; Gn. Spat. G., I, 7-8; Alfred Adam, Die Psalmen des Thomas und das Perlenlied als Zeugnisse vorchristlicher Gnosis ("Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der aelteren Kirche," XXIV; Berlin: Toepelmann, 1959).

[21] Philo, the Chaldean Oracles, and Plotinus are treated as Gnostic sources by some scholars. Many, however, do not think that Philo should be classed amont the Gnostics (Wilson, Gnos. P., p. 73; Arthur Darby Nock, A Review of Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist, II/1, by Hans Jonas, G, XXVIII (1956), 126). Too little is known of the Chaldean Oracles to build a case on them (E. R. Dodds, "New Light on the Chaldean Oracles," HTR, LIV [1961], 263-73). Neo-Platonic opposition to Gnosticism should rule Plotinus out of the Gnostic camp.

[22] The issue at this point is not whether there is a pre-Christian Gnosis or not. It is whether or not there is an extra-Christian Gnosis.

[23] Richard Reitzenstein, Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen (3d ed.; Leipzig: B. G. Tuebner, 1927), pp. 69-70.

[24] Jonas, Gn. Spat. G., I, 23.

Of these three possible answers to the question, what should the Gnostic label cover, the last two dominate contemporary discussion. There have been attempts to avoid confusion between these two prevailing usages by giving the two groups of phenomena different names. Among the different attempts three may be singled out as representative. The first is that of J. de Zwaan who proposed that a distinction be drawn between pagan and Christian syncretism on the one hand, and Gnosticism on the other. The latter term would then be reserved for the Christian heresy.[26] The second is that of Martin Nilsson who defines Gnosticism as the Christian offshoot of the stock of ideas which is known as gnosis and which finds its pagan expression in Hermeticism.[27] The third is that of R. M. Wilson who suggests classifying the pre-Christian phenomena as pre-Gnosis, while reserving the Gnostic label for the Christian errorists described by

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[25] Heinrich Schlier, "Das Denken der fruehchristlichen Gnosis," *Neutestamentliche Studien fuer Rudolf Bultmann*, ed. Walther Eltester ("Beihefte zur Zeitschrift fuer die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der aelteren Kirche," XXI: Berlin: Alfred Toepelmann, 1954), 80.

[26] J. de Zwaan, "The Edessene Origin of the Odes of Solomon," *Quantulacumque*, ed. Robert P. Casey, Silva Lake, and Agnes K. Lake (London: Christophers, 1937), p. 289.

[27] Martin Persson Nilsson, *Greek Piety*, trans. Herbert Jennings Rose (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. 130.

Irenaeus and Hippolytus.[28] None of these suggestions has commanded widespread assent, however, so the term continues to suffer from ambiguity.[29]

How should the phenomenon labeled Gnosis be studied?--The second question that seriously affects one's definition of Gnosticism is that of method. How should Gnostic phenomena be studied? There are two basic answers to this question: (1) by the genetic method, (2) by a "wholistic" approach.

The genetic method takes some element of developed Gnostic thought which is conceived to be central and attempts to trace it to its origins. The tendency is then to identify Gnosticism with the source of the motif. In this manner Gnosticism has been defined as Christian,[30] Jewish,[31]

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[28] R. McL. Wilson, "Gnostic Origins," VC, IX (1955), 211.

[29] The attempt to speak of such evidence as the Hermetica and the Chaldean Oracles as Gnosticizing movements which were not fully Gnostic has fared no better. See Robert M. Grant, Gnosticism and Early Christianity (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), p. 36, for the use of such a distinction. Cited hereafter as Gnos. E. C.

[30] Burkitt, op. cit. Burkitt thinks that the first thing that is necessary to understand the Gnostics is to regard them as Christians. These Christians were striving to state their faith in a form uncontaminated by Jewish presuppositions (pp. 27-28). Gnosticism is aberrant Christianity (p. 10). Without Christianity no Gnosis would have existed (p. 58). Gnosticism is a reformulation of Christianity by some second-century Christians (p. 57).

[31] Grant, Gnos. E. C. Grant thinks that Gnosticism had its origins in apocalyptic Judaism (p. 39). Virtually all the elements of Gnosticism were already present in the Essene writings. When the hope of God's vindication of his people was dimmed by the failure of apocalyptic visions to materialize, apocalyptic became Gnostic. Gnosis, therefore, originated out of the failure of Jewish apocalyptic hopes.

Greek,[32] and Oriental.[33] The concerns which dominate the scholars who follow this method are those of sources and chronology.[34]

The second answer given to the question, how should

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[32] Adolf Harnack, History of Dogma, trans. Neil Buchanan (New York: Russell & Russell, 1958), I, 226-27. For Harnack, Gnosis is Hellenism. The Gnostic systems represent the acute Hellenization of Christianity, in contrast to the main stream of Christianity which was only gradually Hellenized.

[33] Wilhelm Bousset, Hauptprobleme der Gnosis ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des alten und neuen Testaments," X; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1907), cited hereafter as Haupt. Gn. Bousset thought a resolute dualistic view lay at the base of the Gnostic systems (p. 328). This dualism was traced back to a combination of late Greek and Persian dualisms (p. 118). His emphasis, however, was on the Oriental element. A brief English statement of Bousset's position is available in the article "Gnosticism," Encyclopedia Britannica, 11th ed., XI, 152-59. Cited hereafter as Enc. B. A somewhat longer article in German may be found under "Gnosis," Paulys Real-Encyclopaedie der Classichen Altertumswissenschaft, hrsg. Georg Wissowa, VII (1910), 1502-33.

Wilhelm Anz, Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus ("Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur," XV.4; Leipzig: J. C. Hinrich'sche Buchhandlung, 1897). For Anz the ascent of the soul is the central teaching of Gnosticism (p. 55). The homeland of Gnosis is Babylon (pp. 59, 88). It is the result of Persian ideas acting on Babylonian ones (p. 109). Gnosticism, therefore, is essentially a corruption of Babylonian religion by Persian ideas.

M. Emiele Amélineau, Essai sur le Gnosticisme égyptien (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1887). Amelineau also used a genetic method. He searched for Egyptian ideas. He, however, made it clear that he was not defining Gnosis as Egyptiam. He chose only to make clear the part Egypt played in the general syncretism of the period (pp. 326-27).

[34] R. M. Grant, A Review of Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist, I, II/1, by Hans Jonas, JTS, New Series, VII (1956), 309, 313, criticizes Jonas strongly on these two points. Eugène de Faye, Gnostiques et Gnosticisme (2d ed.; Paris: Libraiarie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1925), is a good example of this method's concern for sources and chronology.

Gnosticism be investigated, is that of scholars who advocate a "wholistic" approach. This method seeks not the genesis of various ideas in the Gnostic whole, but rather the spiritual center[35] of the whole itself. This cannot be accomplished merely by tracing individual parts of Gnostic thought to their origins. There is a unity behind the multiplicity of the parts of Gnosticism. This unity is the spiritual center which constitutes the various elements into a Gnostic whole.[36] It is this constitutive principle that is sought.[37] This constitutive principle is to be sought by asking questions of the whole.[38]

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[35] The expression is that of Jonas (Gn. Re., p. 24). See also Jonas, Gn. Spat. G., I, 30.

[36] Jonas, Gn. Re., p. 24. Since Gnosticism is a whole, the simple task of summarizing second-century Gnostic beliefs in about five points is not the same thing as defining Gnosis. This undercuts the procedure of Hans-Joachim Schoeps, Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis (Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1956), pp. 37-39, to which W. D. Davies, A Review of Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis, by H. J. Schoeps, JBL, LXXVI (1957), 68, appeals.

[37] This distinction between the form and the essence of Gnosticism is made vivid by Jonas with Spengler's concept of pseudomorphosis. (Jonas, Gn. Spat. G., I, 73-74; Gn. Re., pp. 36-37). For Jonas the form is Greek but the essence is Oriental. The same kind of distinction between form and essence in Gnosticism was made earlier by Hans Leisegang, Die Gnosis ("Kroeners Taschenausgabe," XXXII; Leipzig: Alfred Kroener, 1924), p. 5. Leisegang, however, thought the essence was Greek while the form was Oriental.

[38] Jonas, Gn. Spat. G., I, 14ff., 90-91. Jonas uses Heidegger's philosophy, with all of its obscurities for the uninitiated, as his tool. The most instructive employment of the wholistic approach is that of Puech (op. cit.). His method embraces two different stages of analysis which he, however, carries on simultaneously. The first stage involves the asking of a question. The inquiry that he directs towards

It now falls to us to evaluate these two approaches. In the first place, what shall we say of the genetic method? Two things must be said, one positive, the other negative. On the positive side of the ledger, the genetic method must be recognized as an absolutely necessary tool in the descriptive task. Gnosticism must continually be investigated by this method to determine the various elements in its syncretistic form. This in turn will tell us a great deal about its history.[39] Also, this method's concern for sources and chronology is clear gain. "It is surely fundamentally erroneous, in disregard of chronology, to confuse data whose origins are different, to collect facts from here, there and everywhere and to combine them into a simple picture as happens much too frequently."[40] On the negative side, however, is the assumption that a whole may be defined in terms

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Gnosis as a whole asks for the Gnostic concept of time. The second stage of his method involves a comparison between the Gnostic answer and the Greek and Christian answers. In this way Puech bares the very heart of Gnosticism (p. 38). In so doing he demonstrates its autonomous attitude (p. 84). Gnosis is not an "atmosphere" (H. R. MacKintosh, The Doctrine of the Person of Christ [2d ed.; "International Theological Library"; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913], p. 134) or a "tendency" (William Ralph Inge, The Philosophy or Plotinus [3d ed.; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1948], I, 104) if by these terms one means only an uncommitted eclecticism and not a whole.

[39] Grant, Gnos. E. C., p. 2, points out that the heterodox Jewish element in Gnosticism has been neglected. The genetic method can help overcome this deficiency.

[40] W. C. van Unnik, "The 'Gospel of Truth' and the New Testament," The Jung Codex, ed. Frank Leslie Cross (London: A. R. Mowbray & Co., Ltd., 1955), p. 85.

of the origin of one or some of its parts.[41] A whole, however, is more than either one or all of its parts.[42] This may be demonstrated. If, for example, one finds in Gnostic thought elements that are quite clearly Greek, and, therefore, concludes that Gnosticism is an expression of Greek thought,[43] then it should be possible to sink a shaft into the Gnostic whole and find a Greek center. This, however, is precisely what one does not find.[44] The same test could be repeated with Oriental, Jewish, or Christian elements with the same results. It is a Gnostic center that we will find.

In the second place, what shall we say of the "wholistic" approach? Here again both negative and positive statements are necessary. Negatively, we must concede the criticism on sources and chronology to be just. Also, we must demand that adherents of this method ask their questions in an intelligible way.[45] Finally, we must require not one, but a number of questions to be put to the Gnostic whole so that the answers may become converging lines of evidence.

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[41] Bousset is a classic example. See n. 33.

[42] W. R. Halliday, The Pagan Background of Early Christianity (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, Ltd., 1925), p. 146.

[43] Like the early fathers.

[44] Again we refer to the brilliant essay of Puech (*op. cit.*) for evidence.

[45] At this point the criticism of Jonas by Grant ("Rev. Gnos.," p. 313) is fully justified. It is at this point that Puech (*op. cit.*) is a distinct advance over Jonas.

Positively, it may be said that this approach is the only one which offers the possibility of grasping the spiritual center of the Gnostic whole. If it is the constitutive principle of Gnosis that we are seeking, it is only a "wholistic" approach that can give us what we want.

In This Thesis

Having spoken briefly of the two crucial questions in modern scholarship's attempt to define Gnosticism, it is now necessary to state exactly how the term will be used in this thesis. The statement of our position may be made in relation to the two questions asked by contemporary research.

In the first place, how much should the term Gnosticism cover? The ultimate issue with which we are concerned in this chapter is the point of time at which the churches of the Aegean basin began to be bothered by a Gnostic problem. In the text of this thesis, therefore, the terms Gnostic, Gnosticism, and Gnosis will be used of a Christian heresy. Such a usage is not intended to deny the existence of an extra-Christian or a pre-Christian Gnosticism.[46]

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[46] Just how should one go about the task of establishing the probability of an extra-Christian Gnosis? The point at which we must begin is the British concern for precision. We must take the second-century Christian Gnostics described by Irenaeus and Hippolytus as the norm for Gnosis. Then we may examine them with a "wholistic" method to determine the Gnostic spiritual center. The first phase of this method is that of asking questions. The questions which we will address to the second-century heretics are five: (1) What do you

This usage is dictated by the fact that answers to these

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think of God? (2) Who is man? (3) How is a man saved? (4) What is the nature of salvation? (5) How should a man live in this world? The crucial task in this process is to discern the relation between each answer and the Gnostic center. When such a task is completed, the results are clear. Each cross-section of the Gnostic whole which we examined points to the same fact. The organizing principle, the spiritual center, of these second-century heretics is a certain anti-cosmic attitude, a dualism.

The second step in our method is that of distinguishing Gnostic dualism from Jewish and Christian dualism, Greek dualism, and Persian dualism. The dualism that one finds in late Judaism and Christianity is clearly distinct from that of Gnosticism. For the former, the world is God's good creation which, though disrupted by evil in the present, will be redeemed in God's good time. The world, therefore, is neither inherently nor permanently evil. Jewish and Christian dualism is temporal and ethical (Grant, *Gnos. E. C.*, p. 177). The Gnostic type is physical and metaphysical (*Ibid.*) In Persian dualism there are definite non-Gnostic elements. The good God creates a world which is good. The dualism of two virtually equal powers is focused in the ethical decisions of men in the world. The victory of goodness is accompanied by a resurrection (B. Lindner, "Dualism," *SHE*, IV (1909), 15). Persian dualism, therefore, accepts this world and moves in this world. Gnostic dualism moves between this world and the supersensual one and results in contempt for this world (Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 137). In Greek as in Gnostic dualism the polarity is between the material and the spiritual worlds. There are crucial distinctions between them, however. On the one hand, the Gnostic world of evil is more than a nebulous world of the formless whose relation to the world of spirit is that of recalcitrance. It is full of active energy and hostile powers (Bousset, *Enc. B.*, XI, 154). It stands over against the light-world with its own activity and initiative and against which it revolts (Boussett, *Haupt. Gn.*, pp. 118-19). On the other hand, in Greek dualism "the objects of this world . . . participate in or imitate the Forms and so partake in order to some extent. . . . Mind and its effect, order, are present in the world: Mind or Reason permeates . . . this world and is not a mere 'Deus ex machina'." (F. C. J. P. Copelston, *A History of Philosophy*, I: *Greece and Rome* [Rev. ed.; Westminster, Md.: Newman Press, 1955], p. 201). There is, therefore, not the radical alienation between the two worlds that is characteristic of Gnosticism. We are dealing, therefore, with a type of dualism questions are not germane to the task at hand.[47] It is only as it contributes to the particular problem of a Gnostic threat to Aegean Christianity that the general question of Gnostic origins concerns us. Gnosticism, therefore, in this thesis will always refer to a Christian heresy.

In the second place, how should the phenomenon be studied? Our objective determines our method. That which

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that is neither Jewish nor Christian nor Greek nor Persian. It is a distinctive Gnostic dualism. Its distinctiveness may be characterized in a twofold way: (1) the material world does not participate even remotely in the spirit world of order, mind, light, (2) the world of darkness is actively hostile towards the world of light. This dualism is constitutive for Gnosticism. Wherever we find this particular anti-cosmic attitude in late antiquity we may label the phenomena Gnostic.

Should the term Gnosticism be limited to the second-century heretics mentioned by Irenaeus and Hippolytus that we have used as our norm? It should only be so limited if we fail to find the Gnostic spiritual principle elsewhere in antiquity. We find this Gnostic principle not only in the second-century Christian heresies, but also in the Poimandres (Doresse, *op. cit*., p. 276, n. 45), in Mandaean (Pallis, *op. cit*., pp. 154, 181, 210) and Manichaean (Jonas, *Gn. Re*., pp. 206-36, 33, 38) thought, and in certain Jewish tendencies (see n. 18). Gnosticism, then, must be thought of as an extra-Christian phenomenon. That we find the Gnostic principle in these non-Christian sources causes us to conclude that Gnosis minus Christianity is and remains no less Gnosis (Gilles Quispel, *Gnosis als Weltreligion* [Zurich: Origo Verlag, 1951], p. 29), cited hereafter as *Gn. Wr*.

[47] It is possible at the same time to argue for a pre-Christian Gnosticism and to hold that Gnosticism did not become a problem for Christianity until the second century. Francis Legge claims that there is no proof that Gnosis, which is pre-Christian, ever really competed with orthodox Christianity until well into the second century. When it did enter the Christian Church, it did so because of the death of the expectation of the second coming at the end of the first century. (*Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* [Cambridge: University Press, 1915], II, 2).

is constitutive of Gnosticism is that by which it is defined.[48] Since the object of our search is the organizing principle or spiritual center of Gnosticism, we subscribe to a modification of the "wholistic" approach.[49] Using this method, we can reach an agreement with the general consensus of research that the root of Christian Gnosticism is an anti-cosmic attitude, a dualism.[50] In this thesis, therefore, Gnosticism will be used to designate that Christian heresy which attempted to subvert Christian life and thought with an anti-cosmic attitude or dualism like that of the second-century heretics described by Irenaeus.[51]

Having established how the terms Gnosis, Gnostic, and Gnosticism will be used in this thesis, let us now pass on to the basic issue of this chapter.

When Did Gnosticism Become a Problem for the Church in the Aegean Basin?

The question with which we are concerned in the second part of this chapter is how early Gnosticism, as we have defined it, became a problem for the Christian Church in the Aegean basin.

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[48] Jonas, *Gn. Re.*, p. 24.

[49] Puech's method is the one we deem correct.

[50] Ernst von Dobschuetz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, trans. George Bremner, ed. W. D. Morrison ("Theological Translation Library"; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 258; Harry Angus Alexander Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1914), p. 29, cited hereafter as *Paul M. R.*; E. F. Scott, "Gnosticism," *ERE*, VI (1925), 235; Quispel, *Gn. Wr.*, p. 40; Samuel S. Cohon, "The Unity of God," *HUCA*, XXVI (1955), 449; Jonas, *Gn. Re.*, p. 42; Kirk, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

[51] See n. 46.

In Modern Research

In modern research there are four different positions that scholars have taken in regard to the point in time when Gnosticism became a problem for Christianity. The first places the Gnostic problem in the second century.[52] R. P. Casey is a prominent representative of this position.[53] Casey's study is a polemic against the claim that Gnosis was a significant factor in the origins of Christianity.[54] He seeks to guard the purity of Christianity at its origin by denying the possibility of Gnostic infiltration. He does this with the claim that there is insufficient documentary evidence for a pre-Christian or even an early first-century Gnosis. Gnosticism prior to the second century has been reconstructed by conjecture from later evidence such as the genealogies of the second-century systems constructed by the heresiologists, the Hermetica, and the Mandaean literature,[55] from the history of philosophy in the Hellenistic and early Christian period,[56] and from the New Testament.[57] What does an evaluation of these sources disclose? The heresiologists' genealogies are artificial and have no historical value.[58] The Hermetic literature in its present form is scarcely earlier than the third century.[59] The Mandaean literature in its present form is post-Islamic. The origins of the sect are fifth century.[60] What can the history of philosophy prove?[61] Finally, the New Testament yields little to the harvester of Gnostic ideas beyond the Johannine logos, life and light, and the cosmology of Ephesians and Colossians.[62]

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[52] Hegesippus (Eusebius, op. cit., III:32) may be taken as an ancient witness for this position.

[53] R. P. Casey, "Gnosis, Gnosticism and the New Testament," The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, ed. W. D. Davies and David Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), 52-80. Cited hereafter as "Gnos. Gn. N. T." Of this essay, G. R. Beasley-Murray says, "R. P. Casey has written a study of Gnosis that every theological student should be made to read." (A Review of The Background of the New Testament and Its Eschatology, ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube, JTS, New Series, VIII [1957], 153), Burkitt, op. cit., should also be considered a representative for this position.

[54] Casey, "Gnos. Gn. N. T.," p. 55. It is against a statement like that of Bousset (Enc. B., XI, 158), that Casey is fighting. Bousset writes that "Gnosticism was certainly one of the most powerful factors in the development of Christianity in the first century."

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[55] Casey, "Gnos. Gn. N. T.," p. 77.

[56] *Ibid*., pp. 77-78.

[57] *Ibid*., p. 79.

[58] *Ibid*., p. 77.

[59] *Ibid*.

[60] *Ibid*. This date is probably too late in light of recent work on Mandaean origins. Kurt Rudolph, *Die Mandaeer*, Vol. I: *Das Mandaeerproblem* ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments," Neue Folge, LVI; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960); Torgny Saeve-Soederbergh, "Some Remarks on Coptic Manichaean Poetry," *Coptic Studies in Honor of Walter Ewing Crum*, ed. Michel Malinine (Boston: Byzantine Institute, Inc., 1950), pp. 159-73. The latter scholar's work is given in full in his *Studies in the Coptic Manichaean Psalm-Book* ("Arbeten utgivna med understoed av Wilhelm Ekmans Universitetsfond, Uppsala," *LV*; Uppsala: Almquist & Wiksells Boktryckeri A.-B., 1949). *See* pp. 2, 12, 155-65.

[61] Casey, "Gnos. Gn. N. T.," p. 78.

[62] *Ibid*., p. 79.

After this evaluation of sources upon which the reconstruction of early Christian or pre-Christian Gnosis is based, how can Casey conclude other than he does? The Gnostic problem is a second-century issue. "The New Testament, therefore, requires no explanation, either as a whole or in any of its parts, in terms of an hypothetical primitive Gnosticism."[63]

What shall we say to Casey? On the one hand we can agree with Casey that the modern scholar infers an early first-century or a pre-Christian Gnosticism from four kinds of sources: (1) the church fathers,[64] (2) various pagan sources,[65] (3) the history of Greek religion and philosophy,[66] (4) the New Testament.[67] Casey's evaluation of these sources, however, rationalizes the first three and is blind to the fourth. He then emphasizes the lack of sources for an early Gnosticism. His argument, therefore, is essentially an argument from silence used to draw a negative conclusion.

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[63] Ibid., p. 80.

[64] The method may be critical as in Ernst Haenchen, "Gab es eine vorchristliche Gnosis?" ZTK, XLIX (1952), 316-49. Haenchen's study takes up Simonian Gnosis in Hippolytus (A.D. 220), in Irenaeus (A.D. 180), in Justin (A.D. 150), and in Acts, from which Haenchen then derives a pre-Lucan tradition. Thereby he has five points on a time line reaching back almost to Simon's supposed date. The object of Haenchen's study is to see whether Simon himself was a Gnostic and thereby to settle the question whether or not there was a pre-Christian Gnosis. In his three latest sources, Haenchen finds the title "the great power" used for Simon in a mythological context. In his earliest two sources, Acts and the extracted pre-Lucan tradition, Haenchen finds the same title used of Simon. He, therefore, concludes that Simon was a Gnostic. This conclusion is based on the assumption that because the title was in a mythological context in his three latest sources, it would have this context automatically, even when such a context was not mentioned. It is precisely this that cannot be assumed. Only external evidence could decide this issue. This fact makes us only too well aware that the primary question is just how historically reliable the father's information is judged to be.

We must ask, however, just how much negative weight this silence should be given. Three factors must be considered. First, literary sources come from the intellectual elite.[68] If Gnosis was a purely popular movement, then we should expect literary remains only as accidents. Second, the mass of papyri which we possess[69] are non-literary. They, however, cannot be expected to contain the more personal religious elements of antiquity because of their commercial and legal character.[70] Third, the traditions and books of the mysteries were kept secret.[71] One would not expect to gain any evidence from them. In light of these three factors, how could one expect anything but silence? One would expect to know early Gnosis only by inference and from echoes and oblique references. The silence upon which Casey builds his case, therefore, does not yield so negative a conclusion as Casey draws. His essay, then, does not really answer the argument from inference.[72]

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[65] Adam, op. cit., attempts to establish a pre-Christian Gnosis from the familiar "Hymn of the Pearl" and the Manichaean "Psalms of Thomas." His attempt suffers from the same methodological error that we found in Haenchen's article. He assumes that the presence of isolated terms and ideas in his two primary sources, if found in earlier sources, have the same meaning. Here again is the genetic fallacy that assumes that to trace a part of a whole to another source implies the common character of the two wholes. Campbell Bonner points out the same methodological fact in regard to the so-called Gnostic amulets. The presence of Gnostic elements does not make them Gnostic. (Studies in Magical Amulets ["University of Michigan Humanistic Series," XLIX; Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950], p. 1).

[66] Pagan religion and philosophy passed through much the same developmental stages (Halliday, op. cit., p. 245). Both were parts of the same syncretistic movement (Ibid., p. 229). This syncretistic tendency was a movement from rationalism to mysticism (Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Mystic Italy [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927], p. 21). The Greek temperament with its interest and ceaseless inquiry (Terrot Reeveley Glover, The World of the New Testament [New York: Macmillan Co., 1931], p. 39) gave way to a failure of nerve (Gilbert Murray, Five Stages of Greek Religion [Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., n.d.], p. 119). While the evidence points out the syncretistic tendencies, mystical in character, which set the stage for Gnosticism, it does not show us Gnosis itself. In this thesis Gnosis is not viewed as a natural phase of the development of Hellenistic syncretism. It is a radical inbreak, something of a foreign nature.

[67] This list ignores the existence of Jewish Gnosticism. Perhaps, therefore, the various witnesses to this phenomenon should be included. See n. 18.

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[68] Edwyn Robert Bevan, Later Greek Religion ("The Library of Greek Thought"; Boston: Beacon Press, 1950), p. xxiv.

[69] Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur Surridge Hunt (eds.), The Oxyrhynchus Papyri (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898-). There are twenty-five volumes so far. A compact selection may be found in Arthur Surridge Hunt and Campbell Cowan Edgar, Select Papyri (2 vols.; "Loeb Classical Library"; London: W. Heinemann, Ltd. 1932-34).

[70] Charles Kingsley Barrett (ed.), The New Testament Background (London: SPCK, 1958), p. 29.

[71] Samuel Angus, The Mystery Religions and Christianity (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928), p. 39.

[72] Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, By Light, Light (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1935), p. 4, states the argument from inference adequately. "It is a difficult thing to

If there was a body of documents, however, which were not literary productions but belonged to the popular religious movements of either the first century B.C. or the first century A.D., which were not secret traditions but rather available to us, then we would expect to see some indication of what is inferred from the first three sources mentioned above. The letters of Paul are just such writings. They reveal the religious ferment of the times in the Aegean basin. It is significant that from these letters many scholars can see a certain Gnosis influencing the churches.[73] His blindness to the New Testament evidence may very well have been Casey's fatal mistake.[74] If the New Testament evidence points to a first-century Gnosticism, one wonders whether or not his treatment of the Patristic evidence is not over-severe.[75] Finally, one should ask Casey if he thinks that his explanation is the only way primitive Christianity was able to keep itself safe from Gnostic infiltration at its source. Casey's intent does not automatically imply his method. One does not have to deny a Gnosticism prior to the

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imagine that the great later tree which supported all these branches stood without roots in the Hellenistic age."

[73] See pp. 153-54.

[74] Wilson, "Rec. Stud.," p. 35.

[75] Scott, "Gnosticism," ERE, VI (1925), 232, thinks that though the patristic references to Simon have often been questioned, there is no reason to doubt that Samaria was an early center of Gnosis and that Simon was an historical person prominently connected with some important phase of the development of Gnosticism.

second century in order to claim that early Christianity was more than a syncretistic religion.[76] This first position, therefore, that places the Gnostic problem in the second century, must be considered untenable.

The second position taken by modern scholars in regard to the point in time at which Gnosis became a problem for Christianity is that which places the rise of Gnosticism in the last part of the first Christian century.[77] The foremost modern representative of this position is Robert M. Grant.[78] Grant argues for a large Jewish element in Gnosticism. The ingredients later found in Gnostic thought, for the most part, were already present in heterodox Judaism.[79] Then when the apocalyptic hopes of A.D. 70 and 135 failed to be actualized, an anti-cosmic attitude arose.[80] Gnosticism, therefore, originates out of the failure of the Jewish apocalyptic hope.[81] This means that there was no Gnostic problem prior to A.D. 70 because there was no Gnosticism before then. The heresiologists' reports about

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[76] For example, Wilson (Gnos. P., p. 76) says, "The whole distinction between Paul and the Gnostics is that he accepts the contemporary 'Weltanschauung' but rejects the Gnosticizing interpretation." This position is approved by Schoeps (Paul, p. 21, n. 4).

[77] Hegesippus (Eusebius, op. cit., IV:22) may also be taken as evidence from antiquity for this position.

[78] Grant, Gnos. E. C.

[79] Ibid., p. 39.

[80] Ibid., p. 37.

[81] Ibid., p. 38.

Simon offer us no real evidence that the Simonian myth goes back to a time before the beginning of the second century.[82] Nor can Colossians be used to argue for a Gnosticism prior to A.D. 70. The Colossian Christians were actually less dualistic than Paul. Their ideas, therefore, cannot be used to prove a Gnostic problem existed in Colossae.[83] The year 70 A.D. marks the dividing line. After 70 Grant is willing to talk about a Gnostic problem. He sees the Fourth Gospel in a double-sided relation with Menander.[84] The author takes over all he can and rejects what he must.[85] Also, when Luke distinguishes Christianity from Gnosticism,[86] Grant thinks he may have had good historical grounds for so doing.[87] It is evident, therefore, that Grant finds no Gnostic problem in the church until the very end of the first Christian century.[88]

What shall we say to Grant? On the one hand, we can agree with his point that the role of Jewish elements in the Gnostic whole have been underplayed in the past. Too long scholarly discussion has been totally absorbed in the Greek versus Iranian conflict. There is a need to recognize more of the Jewish elements in Gnosis.[89] In this task, Grant's work is a contribution.

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[82] _Ibid._, p. 75.

[83] _Ibid._, p. 160.

[84] Grant, "Ear. Ch. G.," pp. 87, 92-95. The treatment in his later book, while not specifically mentioning Menander, is essentially the same. In particular, see _Gnos. E. C._, pp. 173-75.

[85] Grant, "Ear. Ch. G.," p. 93.

[86] Acts 8.

[87] Grant, _Gnos. E. C._, p. 163. Grant, however, does not give the grounds for this statement.

[88] That is, A.D. 70-100.

On the other hand, however, he has demonstrated neither the Jewish origin of Gnosis nor its source in the disillusionment of Jewish apocalyptic hopes. The presence of a strong Jewish element in Gnosis does not prove that Gnosticism is ultimately or even basically Jewish. To assume that it does is to revert to the genetic fallacy that the whole is defined by the origin of some of its parts. Nor does the fact that the dominant Jewish element in Gnosticism is apocalyptic prove that Gnosis originated in disillusioned apocalyptic hopes. Grant himself comes near admitting this when he says in his preface, "The fallacy in the . . . argument may be . . . identification of _post hoc_ with _propter hoc_."[90] We must even question, however, whether Gnosis is related to the Jewish apocalyptic disillusionment of A.D. 70 as _post hoc_. The only way that Grant can maintain this is to treat both the Patristic and the New Testament evidence in the same way that Casey does.[91] This speaks weightily against his thesis. We must conclude, therefore, that a late first-century date for the emergence of a Gnostic problem is an inadequate explanation of all the evidence.

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[89] Grant is not the only one who is concerned with the Jewish element in Gnosis. We may mention Arthur Darby Nock, A Review of _Gnosis und spaetantiker Geist_, I, by Hans Jonas, _G_, XII (1936), 605-12; Nock, A Review of _Urgemeinde, Judenchristentum, Gnosis_, by Hans-Joachim Schoeps, _G_, XXVIII (1956), 622; Doresse, _op. cit._, p. 324.

[90] Grant, _Gnos. E. C._, p. viii.

[91] See pp. 81-83.

The third scholarly line drawn as to the time of the Gnostic problem's emergence in the life of early Christianity is that commonly associated with the Bultmannian school,[92] though it is by no means so limited.[93] This position places the rise of the Gnostic problem in Aegean-basin Christianity near the middle of the first century A.D.[94] The evidence to which this position appeals is primarily that of the New Testament,[95] in particular to Colossians,[96] the Corinthian correspondence,[97] Galatians,[98] and Philippians.[99] The error against which Paul polemizes in one, two, or all of these letters, it is argued, is a brand of Gnosis. On these grounds, therefore, the point of time at which the Aegean churches were confronted with a Gnostic problem is located somewhere near the middle of the first century A.D.

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[92] R. P. Casey, A Review of Die Gnosis in Korinth, by Walter Schmithals, JTS, New Series, VIII (1957), 151, begins his remarks with the statement that this kind of position is due to the fact that Schmithals is a devotee of Bultmann, Bousset, and Reitzenstein.

[93] R. McL. Wilson and Bo Reicke certainly cannot be called Bultmannians.

[94] Irenaeus (op. cit., II:Preface:1) may be considered an ancient witness for this position.

[95] This interpretation of the New Testament is rendered plausible for some of these scholars (e.g. Bultmann and Schmithals) by the case for a pre-Christian Gnosticism which they accept. Others, however, do not accept a pre-Christian Gnosis and yet interpret the New Testament in this way (e.g. Wilson). This position, therefore, does not depend necessarily upon belief in a pre-Christian Gnosticism. For those who do accept a pre-Christian Gnosticism, there is a tendency to put the emergence of the first Christian Gnostic problem in pre-Pauline Hellenistic Christianity.

[96] Rudolf Bultmann, Gnosis, trans. J. R. Coates ("Manuals from Kittel," V; London: Adam & Charles Black, 1952), p. 41, cited hereafter as Gnosis; Guenther Bornkamm, "Die Haeresie des Kolosserbriefes," TLZ, LXXIII (1948), 11-20 (reprinted in Das Ende des Gesetzes ["Beitrage zur evangelischen Theologie," XVI; Muenchen: Chr. Kaiser, 1952], 139-56); Bo Ivar Reicke, Diakonie, Festfreunde und Zelos

What shall we say to this position? Since the position taken in the second half of this chapter is a variation of this general point of view, we will postpone any evaluation until then. Let us now pass on to the statement of the last point of view among modern scholars.

The fourth position would see a contact between the Church and Gnosticism from the very beginnings of Christianity. The most notable scholar who has proposed this thesis is

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("Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift," V; Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistaska Bokhandeln, 1951), p. 283, cited hereafter as Diak. F. Z; Wilson, "Rec. Stud.," p. 35.

[97] Bultmann, Gnosis, p. 42, and Exegetische Probleme des Zweiten Korintherbriefes ("Symbolae Biblicae Upsalienses," IX; Uppsala: Wretmans Boktryckeri A.-B., 1947); Walter Schmithals, Die Gnosis in Korinth (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956), cited hereafter as Gn. K.; Reicke, Diak. F. Z., pp. 273-93; Wilson, "Rec. Stud.," p. 35. H. Koester, "Haeretiker im Urchristentum," RGG, III (1959), 18-19, thinks that I Cor. reflects a Gnostic problem but that II Cor. reflects a problem with hellenistic Jewish-Christians who are not Gnostics. Cited hereafter as "Haer. Ur. C."

[98] Walter Schmithals, "Die Haeretiker in Galatien," ZNW, XLVII (1956), 25-67. Koester, "Haer. Ur. C.," 18, and F. R. Crownfield, "The Singular Problem of the Dual Galatians," JBL, LXIV (1945), 491-500, both see the heretics in Galatia as syncretists with Jewish characteristics.

[99] Walter Schmithals, "Die Irrlehrer des Philipperbriefes," ZTK, LIV (1957), 297-341; Koester, "Haer. Ur. C.," p. 19.

Oscar Cullmann.[100] From his study of the Pseudo-Clementines and one of their alleged sources, the Preaching of Peter, Cullmann concludes that a new door is opened to the place of Gnosticism in Christian origins. Primitive Christianity was tied to Jewish Gnosticism.[101] From its origins Christianity contained two elements, the Gnostic and the anti-Gnostic. Jesus, however, passed beyond the limits of Gnosticism.[102] He brought something new, the idea of God the Father who pardons sins because of his grace.[103] All Christian history, therefore, may be considered as a struggle between the Gnosticism inherent in Christianity because of its origins and the specifically Christian principle.[104] In two recent articles[105] Cullmann has reasserted his position that a Jewish Gnosticism existed before there was a Christian Gnosis, and therefore, that the two strains, Gnostic and anti-Gnostic, existed in the Christian church from its beginnings. This is proved today, he claims, by the Qumran texts.[106]

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[100] Oscar Cullmann, Le problème littéraire et historique du roman pseudo-Clémentin ("Études d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses," XXIII; Paris: F. Alcan, 1930). Cited hereafter as Pseud. Cl.

[101] Ibid., p. 224.

[102] Ibid., p. 258.

[103] Ibid., p. 259.

[104] Ibid., p. 258.

[105] Oscar Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," JBL, LXXIV (1955), 213-26 (reprinted in The Scrolls and the New Testament, ed. Krister Stendahl [New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957], 18-32); also, "A New Approach to the Interpretation of the Fourth Gospel," ET, LXXI (1959), 8-12, 39-43. Cited hereafter as "New Appr."

What shall we say to this position? On the one hand, we can agree with Cullmann that the distinction between Jewish and Hellenistic in early Christianity may not be considered merely as a geographical and a chronological one, so that everything that has Hellenistic elements in it must be late.[107] Qumran does help us to see that fact.

On the other hand, however, we have trouble with the rest of his thesis. While it is certainly possible that a Jewish Gnosticism was a problem for Christianity from the beginning, Cullmann's sources do not prove the fact. The fact that the first traces of Christian Gnosis make us acquainted with a Jewish-Christian Gnosticism[108] may indicate the existence of a Jewish-Christian Gnosis, but the sources carry us back no farther than the middle of the first Christian century. Arguments for a pre-Christian Jewish Gnosticism on the basis of a certain view of Mandaean origins[109] is untenable.[110] Nor can it be said that the Qumran texts prove that a Jewish Gnosis existed prior to Christianity. The Qumran Covenanters are certainly influenced by foreign elements but they are not Gnostic.[111] Thus, while Cullmann's

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[106] Cullmann, "New Appr.," p. 9.

[107] Ibid., p. 8.

[108] Ibid., p. 9.

[109] Cullmann, Pseud. Cl., pp. 220ff.

[110] The modern tendency is to exclude the Mandaeans from the questions of Gnostic origins (Wilson, "Rec. Stud.," p. 38).

[111] Wilson, Gnos. P., pp. 97, 261.

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thesis is an extremely provoking one, it lacks the solid evidence necessary to render it probable.[112] The fourth alternative, therefore, must also be regarded as untenable.

In This Thesis

When did Gnosticism become a problem for the Christian churches in the Aegean basin? The position that is taken here is that the Gnostic problem arose in the Aegean basin near the middle of the first century of the Christian era.[113] This point of view will be argued on the basis of Colossians and the Corinthian correspondence.[114]

Preliminary questions.--The choice of Colossians[115] and the Corinthian letters[116] as sources raises two preliminary questions. In the first place, assuming the letters to be authentic, when were they written?[117] The Corinthian correspondence offers the lesser problem. The first three letters were written most likely from Ephesus during the third missionary journey recorded by Acts. The fourth letter was written a short time later on the same journey from somewhere in Macedonia, prior to Paul's final visit to Corinth.[118] This means that the Corinthian correspondence comes from a period probably in the middle fifties of the first century A.D.

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[112] The question of Gnostic origins must remain unanswered so long as texts are absent upon which a thesis can stand. (Adam, *op. cit.*, p. 1)

[113] At least this is as early as our sources allow us to date the Gnostic problem there or elsewhere.

[114] The examination of the two documents will be carried on always within the context of the probability created by the argument from inference.

[115] The essential unity of Colossians is assumed. For a survey of various attempts to question its integrity, see Moffatt, *Intro.*, pp. 155-58. We can conclude with Enslin (*Chr. Beg.*, p. 292) that the thesis that there are long interpolations in the first two chapters of Colossians is unnecessary. It is more improbable than the hypothesis it seeks to replace.

[116] The integrity of the Corinthian correspondence has been frequently questioned. Four attempts at understanding may be presented. First, is the view which sees II Cor. 6:14-7:1 as a fragment of a third letter mentioned in I Cor. 5:9 and holds to the unity of the rest. (McNeile, *Intro. N. T.*, pp. 121, 125) Second, is the view which sees fragments of four letters, II Cor. 6:14-7:1, I Cor., II Cor. 10-13, II Cor. 1-9. (T. W. Manson, "St. Paul in Ephesus: (3) the Corinthian

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Correspondence," *BJRL*, XXVI (1941), 101. Cited hereafter as "Cor. Corr." This is reprinted in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. Matthew Black [Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962], Manson is following James Houghton Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians* (London: Methuen & Co., 1900). Third, is the view that sees five letters: (1) I Cor. 10:1-23; 6:12-20; 11:2-34; 16:7(?), 8f.; perhaps 16:20f.; II Cor. 6:14-7:1, (2) I Cor. 7, 8, 9, 10:24-11:1; 12; 13; 14; 15; 16:1-6; perhaps vss. 7 and 15-19, (3) I Cor. 1:1-9; 1:10-6:11; 16:10-14; perhaps vss. 22ff., (4) II Cor. 2:14-6:13; 7:2ff.; chaps. 10-13, (5) II Cor. 1:1-2:13; 7:5-16; 9. (Johannes Weiss, *The History of Primitive Christianity*, I/2, trans. Arthur Haire Forster, ed. Frederick C. Grant [New York: Wilson-Erickson, 1937], pp. 356-57) Fourth, is the view that sees six letters: (1) II Cor. 6:14-7:1; I Cor. 9:24-10:22; 6:12-20; 11:2-34; 15; 16:13-24, (2) I Cor. 1:1-6:11; 7:1-9:23; 10:23-11:1; 12:1-14:40; 16:1-2, (3) II Cor. 2:14-6:13; 7:2-4, (4) II Cor. 10:1-13:13, (5) II Cor. 9:1-15, (6) II Cor. 1:1-2:13; 7:5-8:24. (Schmithals, *Gn. K.*, pp. 12-22) This quest has resulted in no certain results. In this thesis we will assume that there are fragments of four letters, written in the order, II Cor. 6:14-7:1; I Cor.; II Cor. 10-13; II Cor. 1-9.

[117] We cannot enter here into the whole problem of Pauline chronology. A glance at the charts provided by Moffatt (*Intro.*, pp. 62-63) or George Bradford Caird (*The Apostolic Age* ["Studies in Theology"; London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., Ltd., 1955], pp. 198-211) will indicate the diversity of opinion on a very difficult subject. Our needs, however, require only general boundaries.

[118] See the reconstruction in Enslin (*Chr. Beg.*, pp. 258-60).

For Colossians the question of date is closely connected with the matter of location. From where did Paul write? Three answers have been given: (1) Rome, (2) Caesarea, (3) Ephesus. That Colossians was written from Rome was not seriously questioned until D. Schulz attacked the assumption in 1829.[119] Today, though Ernst Lohmeyer[120] supports Caesarea, the main challenge to the Roman view is from the supporters of Ephesus.[121] If Colossians is from Rome it would date in the early sixties. If it is from an Ephesian imprisonment it would date from a time very near to that of the Corinthian letters, in the middle fifties. After all of the scholarly discussion, the question remains moot.

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[119] Francis W. Beare, "The Epistle to the Colossians, *IB*, XI, 136. Schulz favored Caesarea.

[120] Ernst Lohmeyer, *Die Briefe an die Philipper, an die Kolosser und an Philemon* (12. Auflage; "Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament"; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961), p. 14 of the introduction to Colossians.

[121] The strongest argument for an Ephesian imprisonment is made by Duncan (*Eph. Min.*). See also his summary in "Some Outstanding New Testament Problems--VI. The Epistles of the Imprisonment in Recent Discussion," *ET*, XLVI (1935), 293-98. Cited hereafter as "Ep. Imp. R. D." He says that that most comprehensive rebuttal of the Ephesian theory is that of the Roman Catholic scholar, Dr. Josef Schmid, in his book, *Zeit und Ort der Paulinischen Gefangenschaftsbriefe* ("Ep. Imp. R. D.," 295). The most thorough English refutation that I know is that by C. H. Dodd, "Mind. P.," where pages 76-92 are given to criticism of Duncan. Clayton Raymond Bowen, "Are Paul's Prison Letters from Ephesus?" *AJT*, XXIV (1920), 286-87), gives a brief but helpful bibliography of older sources for and against the Ephesian hypothesis. The most recent survey of the evidence which has positive results is that of Donald T. Rowlingson, "Paul's Ephesian Imprisonment: An Evaluation of the Evidence," *ATR*, XXXII (1950), 1-7.

Fortunately, however, it does not affect our position significantly either way. In either case, assuming its authenticity, Colossians would fall in the period A.D. 50-65. That is all that is necessary for our purposes.

Can we assume, however, that Colossians is authentic? This is the second preliminary question with which we must deal.[122] Though numerous arguments have been raised against the authenticity of Colossians,[123] the chief objections are two. They are: (1) the kind of heresy attacked, (2) the developed Christology.[124]

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[122] The authenticity of the Corinthian letters is beyond dispute (Enslin, *Chr. Beg.*, p. 252).

[123] Three minor arguments that have been used against the authenticity of Colossians are: (1) its vocabulary and style, (2) its connection with Ephesians which is deutero-Pauline, and (3) its Catholicizing tendencies. The first carries little weight. The differences between Colossians and the acknowledged letters can be explained by any number of factors, such as, a different subject, Paul's use of his opponents' terminology, development in Paul himself, so that a sub-Pauline author is not required to explain the facts. Moreover, Ernst Percy counterbalances the differences with distinctive similarities of style with the accepted letters (*Die Probleme der Kolosser-und Epheserbriefe* ["Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Lund," XXXIX; Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1946], pp. 36-46) The second argument is offset by the intimate connection between Colossians and Philemon which is certainly Pauline. (John Knox, "Philemon and the Authenticity of Colossians," *JR*, XVIII [1938], 144-60) The third argument is less devastating to the authenticity of Colossians than to those who with Walter Bauer claim that there was no self-consciousness of the Church about orthodoxy in the first century. If the Catholic Church was largely the product of the Gnostic controversy, as Samuel Angus thinks (*The Religious Quests of the Graeco-Roman World* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929], p. 400), then one would expect to see the beginnings of the second-century structure of apostolicity and catholocism emerging even at the beginning of the Gnostic problem.

The first argument against the authenticity of Colossians has little cogency among modern scholars.[125] To put Colossians in the sub-apostolic period, it is not enough merely to show that errors of an analogous kind existed in the middle of the second century. It is mandatory that it be shown that they could not have existed in the time of Paul.[126] This, of course, is precisely what cannot be done.[127]

The ultimate issue upon which the authenticity of Colossians is decided, therefore, is its Christology.[128] The issue is both that of the content and of the function of the Christology in the author's thought. In regard to content, it is claimed that the true parallels to the cosmic Christology of Colossians are found not in the acknowledged letters of Paul but in Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel.[129]

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[124] Enslin, Chr. Beg., p. 291.

[125] Ibid.

[126] T. K. Abbott, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and to the Colossians ("The International and Critical Commentary," XXXVI; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), p. liv.

[127] For scholars who accept a pre-Christian Gnosis, the argument from the nature of the errorists to a late date is worthless. (Kirsopp Lake, The Earlier Epistles of Paul [2d ed.; London: Rivingtons, 1930], p. 46, cited hereafter as Ear. Ep. P., and Moffatt, Intro., pp. 153-54).

[128] Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake, An Introduction to the New Testament (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1937), p. 152.

[129] Beare, op. cit., p. 144. See the instructive parallels between Col. 1:15-20 and Hebrews on p. 162.

In regard to function, it is claimed that the emphasis in Colossians is no longer soteriological. It has shifted from the work of Christ to the person of Christ.[130] After the immediate consciousness of the blessings of Christianity, there emerged a stage where the blessings were taken for granted. Here the only conception of Christ that was admissible was one which represented him as able to produce all the effects experienced.[131] The Christology of Colossians represents this stage of later reflection. The letter comes, therefore, so it is claimed, from the sub-apostolic period.

What shall we say to this charge? Our response must be that both the content and the function of the Christology of Colossians are in line with the acknowledged letters of Paul, in particular with the Corinthian correspondence.

The Christological content of Colossians is not totally different from that of the recognized epistles. The point at which the major differences in the Christology of Colossians and that of the accepted Pauline letters are seen is in the passage 1:15-20.[132] It will be instructive, therefore, to compare this section with the accepted letters on seven points. First, Colossians 1:15a speaks of Christ as the one ὅς ἐστιν εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ. This is exactly the clause used in II Corinthians 4:4.[133] Moreover, the context of the Corinthian passage is cosmic. Second, Colossians 1:15b, 17a, speaks of Christ's pre-existence in the words πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως and αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων. Christ's pre-existence, while not in these exact words, is found in I Corinthians 8:6, 10:4, Philippians 2:6ff.[134] Third, Colossians 1:16 speaks of a whole series of astral powers. Recent research has made us aware that the whole world of astral powers is built into the very fabric of Paul's thought.[135] The cosmic setting of Paul's argument is especially evident in the Corinthian letters.[136] Fourth, Colossians 1:16c regards Christ as the agent of creation. This idea is found also in I Corinthians 8:6.[137] Fifth,

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[130] *Ibid.*, p. 144.
[131] Baur, *Paul*, II, 31.
[132] Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

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[133] E. F. Scott, *The Epistles of Paul to the Colossians, to Philemon and to the Ephesians* (*"Moffatt New Testament Commentary"*; *New York*: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1930), p. 21, cited hereafter as *Ep. C. P. E.*; Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[134] If Philippians 2:6-11 is a pre-Pauline hymn, then belief in Christ's pre-existence is very early. See Archibald M. Hunter, *Paul and His Predecessors* (2d ed. rev.; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1961), pp. 122-23. Cited hereafter as *Paul P.*

[135] C. H. C. Macgregor, "Principalities and Powers: The Cosmic Background of Paul's Thought," *NTS*, I (1954), 17-28; Reprinted in *New Testament Sidelights*, ed. Harvey K. McArthur (Hartford: Hartford Seminary Foundation Press, 1960), 88-104; George B. Caird, *Principalities and Powers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); Clinton D. Morrison, *The Powers That Be* ("Studies in Biblical Theology," XXIX; Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1960). Morrison gives full bibliography.

[136] I Cor. 2:6-8; 6:3; 8:4-6; 10:20; 11:10f.; 15:24-28; II Cor. 2:11; 4:4; 11:14; 12:7.

[137] Percy, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

Colossians 1:18 describes Christ as the πρωτότοκος ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν. This is virtually the same thing that I Corinthians 15:20 means by its ἀπαρχὴ τῶν κεκοιμημένων. Sixth, Colossians 1:20 speaks of God through Christ reconciling all things to himself, both things on earth and things in heaven. II Corinthians 5:19 speaks of God reconciling the world to himself in Christ. I Corinthians 15:24-28 describes Christ as subjecting the astral powers to God.[138] Philippians 2:9-11 is a clear parallel to Colossians 1:20. Seventh, Colossians 1:20[139] makes this cosmic salvation depend upon the cross. This connection between the cross and the powers is found also in I Corinthians 1:18, 2:8, and possibly in Galatians 4:4ff.

The results of our comparisons are two. On the one hand, we find that the exact terminology of Colossians 1:15-20 is not often found in the acknowledged letters of Paul. On the other hand, we find that the ideas of Colossians 1:15-20 are paralleled by Paul's accepted epistles, especially the Corinthian correspondence. What shall we make of these results? In regard to the lack of exact verbal parallels there is no problem. This may be due either to the Pauline custom of repeating the terminology of his opponents[140] or to the use here of a pre-Pauline hymn whose vocabulary is non-Pauline,[141] or to both. To the correspondence of most of the important ideas in the Colossian passage with the accepted Pauline epistles, great weight must be given. The Christological content of Colossians is not really more advanced than that of Paul's thought elsewhere.[142] It offers no valid objection to the authenticity of Colossians.

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[138] *Ibid.*, p. 104, has a question about I Cor. 15:24-28 but thinks Phil. 2:10 is in line with Col. 1:20.

[139] Also, Col. 2:15.

[140] Bornkamm, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Enslin, *Chr. Beg.*, pp. 291-92.

The function of the Christology in Colossians is also in line with that of the acknowledged epistles. The concern of the author of Colossians is soteriological and ethical. The errorists held that the work of Christ was inadequate. It had to be supplemented by the action of other heavenly powers.[143] This, in turn, led to an ascetic, and possibly a libertine, ethic. The author's struggle in Colossians is to establish the fact that Christ has effected a complete salvation.[144] Anything he says about who Christ is, is in the interest of assuring the effectiveness of what Christ has done. The Christology is not armchair reflection carried on after the soteriological issues have been settled. It functions in the interests of an immediate soteriological and ethical problem.[145] This is precisely the same function that Christology plays in the accepted letters.[146] It is erroneous, therefore, to say that the emphasis is on Christology instead of soteriology and that this is the result of later reflection after living issues had been resolved. The Colossian letter reveals a living issue. The issue is soteriology. Is Christ's work sufficient for salvation? What effect does this have on ethics? The Christology is simply the means by which the soteriological crisis is settled. This argument from the function of the Christology of Colossians is, therefore, no valid objection to the authenticity of Colossians.

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[141] James M. Robinson, "A Formal Analysis of Col. 1:15-20," JBL, LXXVI (1957), 270-87; Hunter, Paul P., pp. 123-26.

[142] Especially is this true of the Corinthian correspondence.

[143] Scott, Ep. C. P. E., p. 27.

[144] Ibid.

Both the content and function of the Christology in Colossians, therefore, are in line with what we find in the acknowledged epistles of Paul. We may, however, go even farther. The specific problems with which the authors of the Corinthian correspondence and Colossians are concerned and to which they address their statements about Christ are very similar. Both deal with an error in which astral elements are central.[147] The ethical overtones of this astral element are both ascetic and libertine.[148] The teachers of this astral-ethical complex claim to have a higher wisdom, a mystery, which transcends the Christian's attachment to Christ.[149] These teachers base their teachings on visions or revelations.[150] They have Jewish affiliations.[151] It may be said that in both cases, therefore, the problem faced involves Jewish visionaries teaching a superior wisdom with an astral base which issues in both ascetic and libertine conduct. It is in the face of the same general type of teaching by the same type of errorists that the authors of both Colossians and the Corinthian letters make their Christological affirmations.

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[145] Note how 1:15-20 lies between 1:14 and 1:21ff. and functions as an answer to the question of how Christ alone can save.

[146] Compare the use of Christology in the interests of a practical problem in Phil. 2:6-11 within the context of 2:1-13.

[147] Col. 1:16, 20; 2:8, 15, 18, 20; see n. 136 for Corinthian references.

In the light of the similarities between the acknowledged letters of Paul and Colossians in both content and function of their Christology, and in light of the similarity in the errorists combatted in Colossae and Corinth, it seems justifiable to place Colossians in the corpus of genuine Pauline letters. In this thesis, therefore, it will be treated as authentic.

Paul's opponents.--In the process of disposing of the two preliminary questions, we have been led into the matter of the opponents of Paul in Corinth and Colossae. It is this issue which is our primary concern. To it we may now give our full attention.

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[148] Col. 2:11, 14, 16, 18, 21-23; 3:5ff.; I Cor. 6:9ff.; 8; 11:2-16; 7.

[149] Col. 1:23; 2:3-4, 8-10; I Cor. 1-2; II Cor. 11:4.

[150] Col. 2:18; II Cor. 12:1ff.

[151] Col. 2:16; 2:11; II Cor. 11:22.

Before we can make any real investigation of this issue, the prior problem of method must be raised. Those who seek to determine the nature of the Corinthian and Colossian heresies often fall prey to the same methodological mistake to which the adherents of the genetic method are susceptible. It is the error of defining the nature of a whole by some one or a number of its component parts. This is manifest in the tendency to collect verbal and idea parallels for various elements of the Corinthian and Colossian heresies from later systems and then to assume that the wholes are of the same nature because of some component part they have in common. For example, the method of some scholars who look for Gnosticism behind the Corinthian and Colossian errors is to look for parallel terms and ideas in the second-century Christian Gnostics.[152] To find such parallels proves nothing. That a word or idea had a Gnostic root in some second-century whole does not guarantee the same Gnostic root no matter where we find it.[153] All that such a parallel can do is to establish a possibility that the whole in which we find it is Gnostic.

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[152] R. M. Grant, A Review of Weisheit und Torheit, by Ulrich Wilckens, ATR, XLIII (1961), 227. Cited hereafter as "Rev. W. T."

[153] Wilson, Gnos. P., p. 71.

Our task, therefore, demands that we treat the Corinthian and Colossian heresies as wholes. We must seek their constitutive principle. We cannot be content just to list the various elements that go to make up the heresies. We must ask what the root of each component part is. Here lies the real difficulty. It is next to impossible to find a method which will allow us to uncover the roots of these wholes when the evidence is so scanty. Nevertheless, we must try. In each case we will find our approach to be a bit different. Let us begin with the Colossian heresy.

In the history of research there has been no unanimity as to the identity of the Colossian errorists.[154] Moreover, a recent warning has been given against too much dogmatism about the type of error in Colossae.[155] There has been a scholarly tendency, however, developing over many years, to consider the heresy as a form of Gnosticism.[156]

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[154] Moffatt, *Intro.*, p. 153, gives a summary of various attempts up to that time.

[155] Richard Grenville Heard, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1950), p. 201.

[156] J. B. Lightfoot, *Saint Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon* (2d ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1879), pp. 73-74; F. Godet, "The First Indication of Gnosticism in Asia Minor," *E*, Series Three, IV (1886), 161-84; Adolf Gustav Juelicher, "Gnosis," *EB*, II (1901), 1742; Benjamin Wisner Bacon, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), p. 113, cited hereafter as *I. N. T.*; H. C. G. Moule, *Colossian Studies* (5th ed.; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909), p. 8; E. F. Scott, *The Literature*

The task, therefore, falls to us to attempt to discern whether or not the Colossian error is Gnosticism, as we have defined it. Does an anti-cosmic attitude underlie the Colossian heresy?

When we view the Colossian error as a whole, there seems little doubt that the central characteristic of this strange teaching was that of the elemental spirits.[157] The teachers claimed the Colossian Christians were living under the dominion of these astral powers. Such was life in this world.[158] Connected with this astral belief were a higher wisdom[159] based on visions[160] and both ascetic[161] and libertine[162] practices. The aim seems to have been to escape

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of the New Testament (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), p. 174; Charles Alfred Honoré Guignebert, *The Jewish World in the Time of Jesus Christ*, trans. S. H. Hooke ("The History of Civilization"; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1939), pp. 203, 245; Clarence Tucker Craig, *The Beginnings of Christianity* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1943), pp. 297ff.; Edwin Lewis, "Paul and the Perverters of Christianity," I, II (1948), 148; Bornkamm, *op. cit.*; Reicke, *Diak. F. Z.*; Bultmann, *Gnosis*, p. 41; F. F. Bruce, *The Defence of the Gospel in the New Testament* ("Pathway Books"; Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1959), p. 74, cited hereafter as *Def. G.*; Wilson, "Rec. Stud.," p. 38.

[157] Martin Dibelius, *An die Kolosser, Epheser, an Philemon* (2. Auflage; "Handbuch zum Neuen Testament," XII; Tuebingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1927), p. 28; Bornkamm, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[158] Col. 2:20.

[159] Col. 1:9, 23, 28; 2:3-4, 8-10.

[160] Col. 2:18.

[161] Col. 2:11ff.; 2:16-19; 2:20-23.

[162] Col. 3:1ff.

the power of these elemental spirits.[163] The question is whether or not this astral teaching operated out of an anti-cosmic base. Is there a dualism at its root?

To see just exactly what were the roots of this astral teaching, we must examine Paul's refutation. In Colossians 1:15-20 and 2:4-23 Paul is attacking his opponents.[164] His language and ideas, therefore, are not general summaries of Christian belief. They are reflections to a large degree of his opponents' position. Since Paul's positions here are a rebuttal of error, we may assume that when he says one thing, his opponents have said something to the contrary. On the basis of this assumption, let us examine two passages in 2:4-23 and then turn to 1:15-20.

The two verses in the section 2:4-23 that we must investigate are 2:11 and 2:20. The first of these two verses cannot be understood, however, apart from a certain tendency we see in Paul's remarks throughout the letter. This tendency is Paul's practice of using the language of the false teachers but by his additions to ethicize the contents of the speculative terms. For example, the errorists claimed that the Colossian Christians needed knowledge and spiritual wisdom, which for them was astral information (1:9). Paul simply adds to their term "knowledge" his own expression "of his will" plus verse 10. This ethicizes the meaning of knowledge.[165] With this tendency in mind we may examine 2:11.

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[163] Col. 2:9-10 says that the Christians have come to fullness of life through Christ who is head of all powers. Col. 2:20 indicates that living in the world is living under the elemental spirits. Fullness of life, therefore, is escape from the powers.

[164] Bornkamm, *op. cit*., p. 11.

In 2:11 two things become clear. First, the errorists placed an emphasis upon the value of circumcision.[166] This is no surprise because we find an intimate relation between the bondage to elemental spirits and the practice of circumcision in Galatians[167] which reflects problems in Christian churches of the same geographical area at about the same time as Colossians. Second, the use of "flesh" here by Paul is with his peculiar ethical sense.[168] He is apparently using the errorists' expression "putting off the body of flesh," which had a physical meaning for them, giving it an ethical twist. It seems likely, therefore, that these heretics connected the rite of circumcision with an escape from the body of flesh. They desired to put off the physical body. In 2:20 we find the reason why these errorists wanted to escape the body. It was because to live in the body was to be subject to the elemental spirits of the universe. The practice of circumcision, therefore, was connected with the desired putting off the physical body, which in turn, was to escape this world and the rule of the powers. There can be little question that for the false teachers, the world and the body were evils to be escaped.

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[165] Beare, op. cit., p. 156.
[166] Scott, Ep. C. P. E., p. 44.
[167] Gal. 4:3-11; 5:1-12; 6:12-15.
[168] Beare, op. cit., p. 196.

In this context, let us turn to Colossians 1:15-20. Here we find Paul's statements pointed at the heretics' views of the body and the world. First, Paul's thoughts turn to the past. He says that Christ is εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου (verse 15) and that τὰ πάντα δι'αὐτοῦ. . . ἔκτισται (verse 16). Christ who is the image of God is also the agent of creation. If this is the case, then the world cannot be inherently evil.[169] Second, Paul speaks of the future. He asserts that τὰ πάντα. . . εἰς αὐτὸν ἔκτισται (verse 16). God chose δι'αὐτοῦ ἀποκαταλλάξαι τὰ πάντα(verse 20). All things were created for him, and through him they are reconciled. Therefore, the world is not permanently evil.[170] Third, Paul speaks of the present. He says that τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῶ συνέστηκεν (verse 17). Moreover, in 2:15 he says that on the cross Christ conquered the powers. Therefore, the world is not presently an evil place for those in Christ.[171]

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[169] Ibid., p. 172.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Col. 2:20.

If we can assume that Paul's remarks in Colossians 1:15-20 and 2:4-23 are refutations of his opponents' position, then when Paul says that the world is neither inherently, nor permanently, nor presently evil by virtue of its relation to Christ, we may conclude that the errorists were advocating a contrary position. In that case, it is clear that the roots of their teaching were anti-cosmic. They subscribed to a dualism in which the astral powers functioned as an active power of evil. The world was, therefore, in contrast to the realm of light,[172] the kingdom of darkness,[173] inherently, presently, and permanently evil. The roots of the Colossian error were a dualism.[174]

Let us now turn to the Corinthian correspondence. Who were Paul's opponents in Corinth? Four alternatives have presented themselves to scholars. Of the four, two have dominated research. We will begin with these two and then pass on to the lesser views. In the first place, some have thought Paul's opponents were Judaizers connected with Jerusalem, like those confronted in Galatians.[175] Though the case for this position may be expanded,[176] the arguments in its favor are essentially two.[177] First, II Corinthians 11:5 and 12:11 refer to the opponents as superlative apostles. This has been taken to refer to leaders of the church at Jerusalem and has been connected with the Cephas party of I Corinthians 1:12 and the reference to Cephas in I Corinthians 9:5. Second, in II Corinthians 11:22 Paul asks, "Are they Hebrews. . . ? Are they Israelites. . . ? Are they descendants of Abraham?" This clearly indicates that at least some of his opponents were Jews. It is then asserted that these Jews are connected with the Judaizing school at Jerusalem. The great objection to this position is that in the Corinthian letters the contrasts are no longer those of the Galatian letter. Instead of law and Christ, works and faith, we find strength and weakness, boasting and humility.[178] There is no trace of controversy over circumcision and the law.[179] There seems to be no nomistic distortion of Christianity combatted.

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[172] Col. 1:12.

[173] Col. 1:13.

[174] If this is the case, then the rest of Colossians possesses real coherence. The astral beliefs underlie the asceticism (2:15-16; 2:20-21). The emphasis on the body (1:22) and death of Jesus (1:20-22) would find explanation as an anti-docetic tendency. The emphasis on "every man" (1:28) would be a rebuttal of esoteric claims (Beare, *op. cit.*, p. 182). The repeated reference to "knowledge" ~~(1:9; 2:2-3)~~ and "wisdom" (1:9; 1:28; 2:3) and "mystery" (1:26, 27; 2:2) is thereby easily explained.

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[175] Baur, *Paul*; Ernst Kaesemann, "Die Legitimaet des Apostels: eine Untersuchung zu II Kor. 10-13," *ZNW*, XLI (1942), 33-71; Schoeps, *Paul*, pp. 78ff.

[176] Without gaining strength in the process, however.

[177] We are depending on Lake (*Ear. Ep. P.*, pp. 220ff.).

[178] Wilhelm Luetgert, *Freiheitspredigt und Schwarmgeister in Korinth: ein Beitrag zur Charakteristik der Christuspartei* ("Beitraege zur Foerderung Christlicher Theologie," XII. 3; Guetersloh: C. Bertelsmann, 1908), p. 70.

[179] Lake, *Ear. Ep. P.*, p. 222.

In the second place, others have thought that Paul's opponents were a libertine group who laid emphasis on the Spirit and thought themselves raised above the weaknesses of other men.[180] Theirs was an antinomian distortion of Christianity. In the sense that a Gnosis given in a revelation was held to be the essence of Christianity, the opponents could be called Gnostics.[181] The main evidence for this view may be grouped under five points.[182] First, in II Corinthians 10:2 Paul speaks of those who "suspect us of acting in a worldly fashion." By implication, Paul's opponents thought themselves acting spiritually. Second, Paul's apostleship was impugned because he did not enjoy the same visions as his opponents.[183] Third, II Corinthians 5:16 shows Paul accused of having only a knowledge of Christ according to the flesh. By implication, the opponents had a spiritual knowledge of Christ. Fourth, in I Corinthians 1-4 Paul's opponents desire wisdom. Paul says, however, that they are not spiritual. The persons to whom reference is made in I Corinthians 1-4 are to be connected with the spirituals of II Corinthians. Fifth, in the last part of I Corinthians the problems point to a party that emphasized the importance of the Spirit. The fact that the opponents were Jews, therefore, does not mean that they were Judaizers. There were various kinds of Jews. These happened to be spirituals, not legalists. Since the position taken in this chapter will be a modification of this point of view, we will reserve comment until later.

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[180] Luetgert, op. cit., pp. 43-47, gives a bibliography of those who held this position before his work in 1908. An impressive list stretches back to the 1830's. Enslin, Chr. Beg., pp. 249, 259. Also, see n. 98.

[181] Luetgert, op. cit., p. 134.

[182] Again we rely on Lake (Ear. Ep. P., pp. 223-32).

[183] II Cor. 12:1-10.

The multiple parties that seem to be mentioned in I Corinthians 1:12 have caused some scholars to set forth a mediating hypothesis. Paul is fighting, not on one but on two fronts.[184] In the first place, he struggles against those who would assign Gentile Christians to an inferior status in the church, that is, against Judaizers. In the second place, Paul contends with those inside the Christian community who want to play fast and loose with their Christian freedom. The latter group is the Christ party. The former group is the Cephas party. Paul, therefore, is forced to fight on two fronts. The only value of such a theory as this is the possibility that it might explain some aspects of the problem that a single hypothesis cannot.

Besides the two main hypotheses and this mediating position, there has recently been set forth a fourth theory by Johannes Munck.[185] Munck contends that I Corinthians 1-4 deals only with disunity and bickerings due to various misunderstandings of Paul's message. It does not reflect divisions or factions due to clear points of doctrine or practice.[186] In II Corinthians the evidence points to the fact that apostles of Jewish variety had come to Corinth from the outside.[187] They were not Judaizers, however. They were setting forth no false doctrine. In accord with custom, however, they did claim support from the church. The critical thing was that they came when they did. They came to Corinth when things were just getting straight on other matters and the collection was due to be gathered. Paul's vehemence, however, is not against them.[188] It is against the Corinthians who are Paul's real opponents.[189] The Corinthian letters, therefore, give evidence for neither Judaizers nor Gnostic spirituals. The problem cannot be defined in this manner.

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[184] Manson, "Cor. Corr.," pp. 104, 118.

The problem with Munck's theory is twofold. First, it distorts the evidence to avoid the clear fact that Paul was polemizing not against the Corinthians in general, but against false apostles or teachers who were viciously attacking him. How can II Corinthians 10:15, 18; 11:4, 5, 6, 13, 21ff; 12:11, have any other interpretation? Second, assuming that I Corinthians deals only with local misunderstandings of Paul's message, what is the basis of these distortions? In his attempt to dissolve old syntheses, Munck has failed to ask the inevitable question of a new synthesis. Is there an underlying unity to the local misunderstandings in Corinth? To attempt to answer this question is to return to one of the two dominant historical positions. Paul's opponents are either Judaizers or Gnostics.

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[185] Johannes Munck, Paul and the Salvation of Mankind, trans. Frank Clarke (London: SCM Press, Ltd., 1959), chaps. 5-6.

[186] Ibid., p. 148.

[187] Ibid., p. 172.

[188] Ibid., p. 185.

[189] Ibid., p. 186.

Let us look at the Corinthian error as a whole.[190]

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[190] The most recent full scale study of Paul's opponents in Corinth is that of Schmithals (Gn. K.). He argues that there is only one group of opponents in Corinth (p. 35). These opponents are of Jewish origin and may have been diaspora Jews before they became Christians (pp. 35-36). The source of their error is their dualistic assumption. This dualism manifests itself in their Christology, anthropology, conduct, their view of the sacraments, and their eschatology. Paul's opponents, therefore, are Jewish-Christian Gnostics. The book has been severely handled by R. P. Casey (A Review of Die Gnosis in Korinth, by Walter Schmithals, JTS, New Series, VIII [1957], 151-53). Of the book Casey writes, "As an example of the way in which historical sources should not be used and historical conclusions should not be drawn, this book is one of the most striking in recent critical literature." (153) The basic methodological objection to Schmithals' book by English speaking scholars seems to be that he approaches Paul's Corinthian correspondence too much from the developed Gnosis of the second century. (Wilson, Gnos. P., p. viii) We may accept this criticism as being justified, in part at least. The collected parallels between the second-century Gnostics and the Corinthian letters do not convince anyone who is aware of the nature of a whole and its relation to its parts. While there is much that is helpful

The first fact that must be recognized is that the Corinthian problems, just like those in Colossae, had an astral element at their center.[191] Once this is recognized, then we can move on to point out that the people who caused the disturbances were some self-appointed[192] apostles[193] who based their claims on visions and revelations,[194] on their Jewish ancestry,[195] and on their eloquent speech.[196] They preached another Jesus, a different Spirit, and a different gospel.[197] They told the Corinthians that they were spiritually deficient. They lacked something.[198] The cross, they said, is

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in this book, and while our conclusion about the identity of the opponents of Paul will approximate that of Schmithals, we cannot accept his methodology. We must look at the Corinthian error as a whole and then ask about its constitutive principle. This cannot be gained by merely collecting parallels to the various parts of the error.

The same knife cuts two ways, however. If this method cannot establish the fact that the Corinthian error is Gnostic, neither can it be used to prove that the error is not Gnostic. For example, when Dm. J. Dupont argues that the Corinthian contrast between πνευματικός and ψυχικός is taken from Gen. 2:7, he has proved nothing. (Gnosis ["Universitas Catholica Lovaniensis," II.40; Louvain E. Nauwelaerts, 1949], pp. 151-80). Even if he is correct about this fact, the same criticism that gets Schmithals gets him also.

[191] The world view that underlies I Cor. 2:6-8 is that which sees the whole human race as subject to the demonic powers that rule the cosmos. (S. G. F. Brandon, "A New Portrait of Paul," HJ, LX [1962], 157).

[192] II Cor. 10:18.

[193] II Cor. 11:5; 12:11.

[194] II Cor. 12:1ff.

[195] II Cor. 11:22.

[196] II Cor. 11:6; 10:10; I Cor. 1:20; 2:1-5.

[197] II Cor. 11:4.

[198] I Cor. 1:7.

not able to deliver men from the world rulers.[199] Men need knowledge, wisdom.[200] Once this knowledge is attained, a man becomes free[201] and all things are lawful,[202] though some understand by their freedom, freedom from what is natural and so are ascetics.[203] Why, therefore, talk about the man Jesus as Lord? Anathema on the human Jesus.[204] He cannot help men. Salvation is escape from the rulers of this world. There can be no talk of a resurrection of the dead, therefore.[205] If anything, your enlightenment with wisdom is your resurrection.[206] You are then already inheritors of the Kingdom of God.[207] Therefore, listen to us spiritual men[208] and you yourselves will become spiritual.[209]

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[199] I Cor. 1:18.

[200] I Cor. 2:5, 6, 7.

[201] I Cor. 9:1; 8:1.

[202] I Cor. 6:12; 10:23.

[203] I Cor. 7.

[204] I Cor. 12:3. It has been said that the problem reflected here is that of the denial of Jesus' divinity. The ἀνάθεμα Ἰησοῦς has been viewed as a Jewish confession reflecting the tensions between the Church and the synagogue. (James Moffatt, *The First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians* ["Moffatt New Testament Commentary"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, n.d.], p. 179). But will this claim stand? Six facts argue a contrary position. First, I Cor. 12 is dealing with disorders in Christian worship throughout. It must, therefore, be some Christians who, claiming the Spirit, pronounce a curse on Jesus. What Christians would do such a thing? Second, II Cor. 11:14 refers to certain apostles who preach another Jesus and the reception of a different spirit. It was this group, therefore, who were the Christians referred to in I Cor. 12:3. Third, I Cor. 1-4 reflects the existence of certain teachers who evidently claimed to impart a secret wisdom with astral connections (I Cor. 2:6-8) which would fill up a lack which the Corinthians had (I Cor. 1:4-9). Here was a new gospel. It seems likely that it is to this that II Cor. 11:14 refers when it speaks of a different gospel. Thus, I Cor. 12:3 should be viewed in the light of the existence of Christian opponents of Paul who had a gospel of their own. It was this group that said, "Cursed be Jesus." Fourth, the designation of the Lord simply as Jesus by Paul is his way of saying the Savior's humanity is central. Passages such as Rom. 8:11; II Cor. 4-10, 11, 14; Gal. 6:17; Phil. 2:10; I Thess. 1:10;4:14, make this plain. Could it be concluded then that "Cursed be Jesus" is an anathema on the humanity of Christ? Fifth, the Gnosis attacked by Paul in Colossae evidently had a problem with the humanity of the Son. The Colossian Gnostics felt that the

The real issue here, as in Colossae, is whether or not this whole has a Gnostic root. Does an anti-cosmic attitude form its constitutive principle? Three arguments point to the likelihood that this Corinthian error has a

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death of a man on a cross could not free men from the astral powers. Indeed, Jesus' sufferings and death were probably regarded as evidence of his inferiority to the powers. (Bruce, *Def. G.*, pp. 74-75) The same situation seems to be reflected in I Cor. 1-4. Sixth, I Jn. 4:1-4 has a twofold test similar to that of I Cor. 12:3. The background of this Johannine letter seems to have been the fact that some who claimed to speak by the Spirit rejected the humanity of the Savior. The Spirit which denies his humanity is that one which "does not confess Jesus." (I Jn. 4:3) This is such a close parallel with I Cor. 12:3 that the conclusion is irresistible. The Corinthian errorists are also involved in a denial of Jesus' humanity. The expression ἀνάθεμα 'Ιησοῦς is a docetic confession. In this conclusion we follow Schmithals (*Gn. K.*, pp. 45-57).

Frederick Godet held to a similar position many years ago. (*Introduction to the New Testament*, trans. William Affleck [Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894], I, pp. 254f.) Bacon (*I. N. T.*, p. 92, n. 2) gave it qualified approval.

[205] I Cor. 15:12.

[206] I Cor. 4:8ff. Grant, "Rev. W. T.," p. 229, claims that Paul's insistence on the resurrection of the dead in I Cor. 15 may be directed against a claim that the spirituals were already raised by their knowledge. This may very well be the case in light of II Thess. 2:2ff.

[207] I Cor. 4:20.

[208] I Cor. 14:37.

[209] I Cor. 3:1; 2:13.

Gnostic root. In the first place, within the Corinthian heresy as a whole we have found a docetic Christology, a disbelief in the resurrection, classification of men into the two categories of πνευματικός and ψυχικός, the ethical extremes of antinomianism and asceticism, and a claim to higher wisdom connected with belief in astral powers as world rulers. All the elements are present that are necessary if the Corinthian error is a Gnosis. Moreover, there are no elements of the error that conflict with a Gnostic root. They would all spring quite naturally out of such a dualism. This fact renders a Gnostic root of possibility, but no more. The difficulty that this argument faces is that the Corinthian letters do not explicitly relate each of the elements of the error to a dualistic root. This has to be inferred. This argument, however, does make this inference a possibility.

In the second place, we have repeatedly emphasized the close connection between the errors combatted in Colossae and Corinth.[210] In Colossae, moreover, we were able to uncover the roots of the errorists' thought. These roots we found to be an anti-cosmic attitude, a dualism.[211] This fact means that there is evidence for the existence of a Gnostic problem in Colossae. This locates a Gnostic problem in the

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[210] See pp. 166ff.

[211] See p. 174.

Aegean basin at least by the early sixties of the first century, if not a decade earlier. When we combine the fact that such striking similarities exist between the errors with the fact that they are from the same general geographical locale at approximately the same time, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the roots of the Corinthian heresy are the same as those of the Colossian heresy. This parallel makes it at least probable that the Corinthian phenomena which would fit so well into a Gnostic framework do have a dualistic root.

In the third place, this probability becomes inevitability when we recognize that there is no other known root in antiquity that will explain the phenomena taken as a whole. It has been said that the same facts can have other explanations.[212] It has been suggested, for example, that behind I Corinthians 15 may lie simply a protest against the Jewish belief in the resurrection of the body in favor of the Greek belief in the immortality of the soul.[213] Also, it is claimed, immorality may be as easily unprincipled as principled. It may be due merely to human nature and not to Gnostic theory.[214] Such suggestions, however, fail to treat the Corinthian problems as a whole. When we assume the unity of the error behind the various problems with which Paul deals in Corinth,[215] we move a long way towards a solution. Various ones of the problems taken in isolation may be explained on a thesis other than Gnosticism. When they are taken as a whole, however, they elude explanation by any other means. It would seem that the only hypothesis that really can explain all the facets of the Corinthian error is that which assumes a Gnostic problem of a Jewish variety underlying it.[216]

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[212] Turner, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.
[213] *Ibid.*, p. 70.
[214] *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

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[215] As Schmithals rightly does (Gn. K., p. 35).

[216] If Paul's opponents in Corinth were Jewish-Christian Gnostics, it becomes instructive to relate our findings in these letters with a passage from the Talmud. In the Talmud there is a well known passage about four Rabbis who went into Paradise (Hag. 14b). The details of the occurrence are simple. Four Rabbis, Elisha ben Abuyah, ben Azzai, ben Zoma, and Akiba went into Paradise. This is clearly a reference to a mystical experience (Scholem, op. cit., p. 14). We have, therefore, in this passage evidence that around A.D. 100 there existed within Rabbinic Judaism a definite mystical tradition. According to the tradition, the outcome of the mystical ascent was varied. Ben Azzai died, ben Zoma went mad, ben Abuyah became a heretic, and only Akiba departed unhurt. Though the apostasy of Elisha ben Abuyah has been variously interpreted (Louis Ginzberg, "Elisha ben Abuyah," JE, V [1902], 138-39), the evidence surely places him in the Gnostic camp. It was his concern over the problem of evil in the world that was the root of his apostasy (Eccl. Rab., VII:8). The content of his error was twofold. He held to a doctrine of the two powers and was an antinomian libertine (Hag. 15a). Thus, the problem of evil in the world led him to a dualism with libertin consequences. Here we see a Jewish Gnosticism arising from the circles of Jewish mystics. It is clear, however, that the fact that Akiba departed unhurt means that he remained orthodox. Jewish mysticism, therefore, is not the same thing as Jewish Gnosticism. At this point Scholem (op. cit.) is in error for making the term Gnostic include Akiba's as well as Elisha's. Should we assume that the phenomenon that we see in this tradition should be regarded

When did Gnosis, as we have defined it, become a problem for the Christian churches of the Aegean basin? From our investigation we have concluded that at least by the period A.D. 50-65 a Gnostic problem is discernible in Colossae and Corinth. Moreover, this early Gnosis that we find on both sides of the Aegean Sea is Jewish or Jewish-Christian.

If we draw a line at A.D. 125 and ask our available sources about Aegean-Basin Christianity of that time, then we find that both the testimony of Ignatius[217] and that of Polycarp[218] reveal a Gnostic problem in the churches. If we

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as an isolated occurrence? In II Cor. 12:1-4 Paul describes an experience in which he was caught up into Paradise. The experience is certainly mystical. He describes it with the expression, "visions and revelations." The similarity between this experience and that of the four Rabbis is self-evident. It has been noted by a number of scholars. (Ginzberg, op. cit., p. 18; Doresse, op. cit., p. 109; Dodd, "Mind P.," p. 94; Scholem, op. cit., p. 18) This gives us evidence that the Jewish mystical tradition goes back well before A.D. 100. It also places Paul within this Jewish movement and makes it probable that he was a Jewish mystic before he became a Christian mystic. (Dodd, "Mind P.," p. 94; Scholem, op. cit., p. 17; Kennedy, Paul M. R., p. 33) It reveals much more, however. Here Paul is answering charges against his apostleship. His opponents, who were Jews (II Cor. 11:22), also evidently claimed superiority because of their visions and revelations. Thus, it is probable that Paul's opponents also fell within the sphere of Jewish mysticism. These Jewish mystics, however, were at the same time the ones whose ethics ran to libertine and ascetic extremes, who denied the resurrection, repudiated the man Jesus, and claimed to possess the wisdom that would overcome the astral powers. They, like Elisha ben Abuyah, seem to have moved from orthodox Jewish mysticism into heretical mysticism. Like Aher, they became dualists.

[217] Molland, op. cit., pp. 1-6.

[218] John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers (New York: Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 162.

draw a similar line at A.D. 100, we find that the Johannine literature[219] and I Clement[220] give evidence for a Gnostic problem in the Aegean basin at that time. These facts, coupled with our conclusion that a Gnostic problem troubled the Aegean churches before A.D. 65, yield a clear picture of a major factor in Aegean Christianity during the period in which Luke-Acts was written. We may assume that the Gnosis that first comes into plain view in the third quarter of the first century and which is visible at the turn of the century and during the first quarter of the second century, was also an issue for Aegean churches during the last quarter of the first century.

The fact that Gnosis was a crucial factor in Aegean-basin Christianity during the last quarter of the first century forces us to reexamine Luke-Acts to see whether or not any or all of it should be understood in light of the Gnostic problem. It is to this question that we must turn in our final chapter.

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[219] Assuming that the locale of the Johannine literature is Asia or Ephesus, as tradition maintains. Even if the locale of the Fourth Gospel is deemed to be Alexandria or Antioch, the Asian locale of the Apocalypse seems secure. For a recent examination of the evidence for the locale of the Fourth Gospel with a conclusion pointing to Alexandria, see Joseph Newbold Sanders, *The Fourth Gospel in the Early Church* (Cambridge: University Press, 1943), pp. 36-46. For a recent argument in favor of the Antiochian origin of the Fourth Gospel, see T. W. Manson, "The Life of Jesus: A Survey of Available Material (5) The Fourth Gospel," *BJRL*, XXX (1946-47), 325-27. This has been reprinted in *Studies in the Gospels and Epistles*, ed. Matthew Black (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), pp. 105-22. The words of C. K. Barrett adequately sum up the present state of research on the problem. "It is impossible to make out a satisfactory and conclusive case for any of the three great cities, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Antioch, as the place of origin of the fourth gospel." (*The Gospel according to St. John* [London: SPCK, 1958], p. 111.

[220] Bauer, *Rechtg. K.*, p. 104.

CHAPTER IV

THE ANTI-GNOSTIC AIM OF LUKE-ACTS

The three previous chapters have set the stage for the present one. The first chapter pointed up the inadequacy of past attempts to solve the "elusive mystery"[1] of the purpose of Luke-Acts. The second chapter showed that any purpose proposed for the Lucan literature must be the purpose of Luke-Acts seen as a unity. The third chapter defined Gnosis as it is used in this thesis and indicated that the Aegean-basin churches were troubled by Gnosticism from as early as the time of Paul so that a Gnostic problem existed when Luke-Acts was written. The present chapter will attempt to demonstrate the probability of an anti-Gnostic aim for the two Lucan volumes.

Once the purpose of the chapter is so defined, we are faced with the inevitable question of method. How can one go about arguing for an anti-Gnostic aim for Luke-Acts? Two problems must be faced at the outset. In the first place, it must be recognized that Luke neither names nor explicitly characterizes his opponents, assuming for the moment their existence.[2] Aside from the fact that "Gnostic" was not a technical term in antiquity as it is in modern scholarship and therefore would not have been used by an ancient author to designate his opponents even if they were Gnostics,[3] the absence of any explicit designation of his opponents by Luke is explained by the author's use of a Gospel form. The nature of the Gospel form is such that the author cannot attack contemporary problems in the same way the writer of an epistle would.[4] This is due to the fact that

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[1] The expression is that of Winn, "Elus. Mys.," p. 144.

> The Gospel is dealing with the past . . . at least this is superficially true. The evangelist may have a present purpose--to convert, to edify, to encourage--but he does it by means of recreating the past, presenting a record of the birth, life, teaching, miracles, passion, and resurrection of a historical figure, who lived perhaps thirty, forty, fifty years before.[5]

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[2] It must be this fact that has led some scholars to say that Luke-Acts shows no sign of any Gnostic controversy though such existed when Luke wrote. So J. Lawson Lumby, The Acts of the Apostles ("The Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges"; Cambridge: University Press, 1891), p. xxvii, and Frank Bertram Clogg, An Introduction to the New Testament (3d ed.; "London Theological Library"; London: University of London Press Ltd., 1954), p. 238.

[3] See chap. iii, p. 129.

[4] Ernest F. Scott has said, "In a narrative of the life of Jesus the writer can make no express mention of a doctrine which did not arise until long afterwards, but is certainly in his mind." (The Varieties of New Testament Religion [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1943], pp. 260-61). This may be an overstatement but it points in the right direction.

[5] R. R. Williams, "The Gospel-Epistle Relationship in Canon and Liturgy," The Gospels Reconsidered (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960), p. 213. Cited hereafter as "Gos. Ep. Rel."

This observation will hold true for Acts also for the same general reasons. When Dibelius speaks of the essential difference between the literary types of the Third Gospel and Acts, he is referring to the fact that in Acts Luke had to write without predecessors and sometimes without even literary sources.[6] This in no way undercuts our conclusion that Acts, just as the Third Gospel, is dealing at least superficially with the past and that Luke's present purpose has to be achieved by means of recreating the past. This means, therefore, that some more indirect avenue of approach will have to be made if we hope to establish the purpose of Luke-Acts.

In the second place, it must be acknowledged that no certain results can be derived from the preface of Luke. Nearly every important word possesses multiple meanings.[7] This ambiguity is resolved only in light of the position taken in regard to the whole of Luke-Acts. Any attempt to arrive at the purpose of the Lucan literature by means of the preface to the Third Gospel, therefore, is doomed to failure. This fact also demands that we make a more indirect approach to the purpose of the Lucan writings.

What method, then, can we use to argue for an anti-

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[6] Dibelius, Stud. A. A., pp. 123-24.

[7] Henry J. Cadbury, "Commentary of the Preface of Luke," BC, I, 510.

Gnostic aim for Luke-Acts? Two questions come naturally to mind. (1) On the one hand, is there anything in the Lucan writings themselves that would indicate that Luke was confronted by a Gnostic problem? Some have thought so. On a number of occasions in the past, New Testament research has called attention to the presence of various apparently unrelated items in Luke-Acts which seem to imply Luke's awareness of the response to a Gnostic problem. The random observations may be grouped into three categories.

The first category consists of two passages in Acts which refer to false teachers. Acts 20:29-30 is generally accepted as reflecting the existence of heretical sects at the time when Acts was written.[8] These heretics have occasionally been regarded as Gnostics.[9] The primary reason has been that Revelation 2:2, 6, written near the time of Acts, speaks of heretics in Ephesus who are probably Gnostics.[10]

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[8] Edgar J. Goodspeed, *An Introduction to the New Testament* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 194-95; Albert Edward Barnett, *The New Testament: Its Making and Meaning* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1946), p. 171.

[9] Pfleiderer, *op. cit.*, II, 260-61; G. H. C. Macgregor, "The Acts of the Apostles," *IB*, IX, 21, cited hereafter as *IB*, IX; C. S. C. Williams, *A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles* ("Harper's New Testament Commentaries"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1957), p. 235. Cited hereafter as *Acts*. Williams only connects the errorists of Acts 20 with Rev. 2 without specifying their exact nature. See also, Easton, *P. A.*, p. 22.

[10] That the errorists in Rev. 2 are Gnostics is probable on several grounds: (1) that the Fathers classed the Nicolaitans with the Gnostics, (2) that Ignatius' letter to the Ephesians speaks of false teachers who were probably

Also, Acts 8, which records an incident about Simon Magus, has been thought possibly to indicate that Luke had contemporary Simonians in mind.[11]

The second of these three categories consists of passages describing certain events in the life of Jesus. The virgin birth of Jesus in Luke 1 has been thought to serve an anti-Gnostic end, guaranteeing his true humanity by his birth, just as it did for Christians as early as Ignatius.[12] The resurrection appearance in Luke 24:36-43, because of its materialization of Jesus' form, has been widely regarded as an anti-docetic polemic analogous to that in the Fourth Gospel.[13] The emphasis upon Jesus' eating and drinking with his disciples after he was raised has also been seen as an anti-Gnostic device.[14] Moreover, it has been proposed that the physical ascension of Jesus in Acts 1:9-11 should be viewed as an answer to such people as Gnostics who

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Gnostics, (3) that the Nicolaitans of Rev. 2:6 and 2:15 are probably identical with the prophetess and her followers of 2:20, 24, who appear to be Gnostics.

[11] Easton, P. A., p. 22; Williams, Acts, p. 117; Grant, Gn. E. C., pp. 163 and 206, n. 22.

[12] Morton Scott Enslin, "The Christian Stories of the Nativity," JBL, LIX (1940), 317-38; S. Maclean Gilmour, "The Gospel according to St. Luke," IB, VIII, 36. Cited hereafter as IB, VIII.

[13] Enslin, Chr. Beg., pp. 411-12; H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, C. J. Wright, The Mission and Message of Jesus (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1938), p. 295, cited hereafter as Miss. Mess; Massey Hamilton Shepperd, Jr., "Paul and the Double Resurrection Tradition," JBL, LXIV (1945), 233; Loisy, Birth, p. 51; Gilmour, IB, VIII, 430-31.

[14] Loisy, Birth, p. 51; Jeremias, op. cit., p. 136, n. 2.

had a spiritual conception of Christ's immortality.[15]

The third category of evidence in Luke-Acts which has been regarded as pointing to Luke's awareness of a Gnostic problem consists of the Lucan concept of apostleship. The apostolic succession of tradition guarantees the legitimate proclamation. This motif of apostolicity is felt to function in Luke-Acts as it did in second-century Christianity against the Gnostic threat.[16]

Though many of these observations possess in themselves an intrinsic plausibility, there has been no attempt to effect a synthesis of these various strands of evidence. There has been no presentation of a coherent picture of the Lucan tendency which would give probability to these plausible but random observations. This fact leads to our first argument, the argument from coherence.

(2) On the other hand, is there anything in the general anti-Gnostic movement near A.D. 100 that would indicate an anti-Gnostic aim for Luke-Acts? The Pastoral Epistles on the one side and the Fourth Gospel and I John on the other are widely regarded as anti-Gnostic in their tendency. If a

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[15] A. F. Loisy, *The Origins of the New Testament*, trans. L. P. Jacks (London: Allen & Unwin, 1950), p. 148. Loisy does not explicitly specify Gnostics but the context makes it clear that he has Gnostics in mind.

[16] Ernst Kaesemann, A Review of *Der Augenzeuge*, by Markus Barth, *TLZ*, LXXIII (1948), 666, 670; Kaesemann, "N. T. Frag.," p. 21; Schmithals, "Haeretiker," pp. 62 and 63, n. 115.

comparison of the tendency of Luke-Acts with that of these known anti-Gnostic writings should reveal a marked affinity between them, this would constitute a strong argument for an anti-Gnostic aim for the Lucan literature. This possibility leads to our second argument, the argument from comparison.

If the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic purpose gives coherence to the basic Lucan tendency, and if this tendency, when comparison is made, shows a marked similarity with the arguments of known anti-Gnostic literature of its period, then we will consider the thesis of an anti-Gnostic aim for the Lucan literature established as probable. Having stated the method to be followed in this chapter, let us now pass on to the first argument.

The Argument from Coherence

Our examination of the Lucan tendency in this chapter must be considered as an extension of the structural analysis presented in Chapter Two. Within the context of that analysis we now propose to examine three Lucan motifs which give unity to the tendency of Luke's two volumes. The first of these three motifs is that of the authentic witness.

The Authentic Witness

Acts: the testimony of the witnesses.--The book of

Acts is dominated by the concept of witness.[17] We have already been made aware of the centrality of the witness element in Lucan thought by our examination of the speeches of Acts in Chapter Two.[18] It will be helpful to us at this time, however, to set forth the motif in full. It is to this task that we now turn.

The witness motif of Acts begins with 1:8. "You shall be my witnesses (μάρτυρες) in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth." The risen Lord speaks to the apostles (1:2) who are called "Men of Galilee" (1:11). It is significant that Acts' witness motif begins with a list of the names of the witnesses. This list corresponds to that of Luke 6:12-16, except that Judas' name is missing.

In Acts 1:21-22 Peter lays down the conditions for the man who will be chosen to fill Judas' vacancy. He must have been one of the group around Jesus who accompanied him from the time of John's baptism until the ascension. Having met these qualifications, he may possibly become with the Eleven a witness (μάρτυρα) to Jesus' resurrection. Not only are the qualifications of the twelfth witness given, but also the name of Matthias is added to the list given above.[19]

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[17] James Maurice Wilson, *The Origin and Aim of the Acts of the Apostles* (London: Macmillan Co., Ltd., 1912), p. 80. This includes the cognates μαρτύρομαι, μαρτυρέω, διαμαρτύρομαι, ὁ μάρτυς, τὸ μαρτύριον, ἡ μαρτυρία.

[18] See chap. ii, pp. 73ff.

As Peter preaches on the day of Pentecost he places heavy emphasis upon the resurrection of Jesus (2:24-31). His concluding statement in this regard is found in Acts 2:32. "This Jesus God raised up, and of that we all are witnesses (μάρτυρες)."

Peter's next sermon (3:12-26), prompted by the wonder aroused by the healing of the lame man, has at its heart the affirmation that God raised Jesus from the dead (3:15a). Immediately thereafter Peter says in 3:15b, "To this we are witnesses (μάρτυρές)."

In Acts 4:20 the two apostles, Peter and John, reply to the council's injunction not to speak or teach in the name of Jesus. Their reply concludes, "We cannot but speak of what we have seen and heard." Though this reply does not contain any of the μαρτυρ- cognates, its association with the motif is clear. That this is so is proved not only by the appeal to what they had seen and heard but also by the context where, after the community prays, the apostles bear witness. "And with great power the apostles gave their testimony (μαρτύριον) to the resurrection of the Lord Jesus (4:33)."

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[19] Acts 1 seems to be a unit in which Luke summarizes the theme of the witness motif in the Third Gospel, that is, the preparation of the witnesses. This unit serves two purposes. First, it gives a guarantee for the theme of Acts, that is, the testimony of the witnesses. Second, by this device, Luke tells the reader what he should have gotten from the first volume, as well as telling the reader what he should expect to find in the second volume.

Acts 5:29-32 is a record of another speech by Peter and the apostles. It too speaks of God raising Jesus and exalting him as Leader[20] and Savior. Likewise its proclamation of Jesus' resurrection is accompanied by the witness motif. "And we are witnesses (μάρτυρες) to these things."

Chapter 8 of Acts records a preaching mission of Philip in Samaria. When the Jerusalem church heard of the success of the gospel there, they sent Peter and John. Among the various things they are said to have done is that which is recorded in 8:25. They testified (διαμαρτυράμενοι).

In Acts 10:34-43 we find another sermon of Peter. Here the apostle is preaching to Cornelius, the centurion. A witness cognate occurs at three different points in this speech. In 10:39 Peter says, "We are witnesses (μάρτυρες) to all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem." The country of the Jews apparently means all

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[20] Ernst Kaesemann, *Das wandernde Gottesvolk* (3. Auflage; "Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments, "Neue Folge, XXXVII; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959), pp. 79-82, attempts to understand ἀρχηγός in a Gnostic context. This raises the question whether the title should be so understood in Acts 3:15 and 5:31. Outside of the question whether the use of the title in a Gnostic context automatically insures its Gnostic content in any context, it would indicate nothing about the anti-Gnostic character of Luke-Acts. The infrequent use of the term in Acts rules out its importance.

Judea, including Galilee (10:37). In 10:40-41 the apostle says that God raised Jesus and made him manifest "to us who were chosen by God as witnesses (μάρτυσιν)." Then he says that the risen Lord commanded them "to testify (διαμαρτύρασθαι) that he is the one ordained by God to be judge of the living and the dead."

With Acts 13:16-41 we come to the first sermon of Paul. This speech is addressed to the Jews in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia. In verses 30-31 Paul says, "But God raised him from the dead; and for many days he appeared to those who came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses (μάρτυρες) to the people."

In Corinth, we are told by Acts 18:5, Paul was busy preaching, "testifying (διαμαρτυρόμενος) to the Jews that the Christ was Jesus."

Acts 20:17-35 records the speech of Paul to the Ephesian elders at Miletus. In the course of this speech the apostle uses a μαρτυρ- cognate three times. Two of the three references belong in the present motif. The first is 20:21. Here Paul claims to have testified (διαμαρτυρόμενος) both to Jews and to Greeks of repentance to God and of faith in Jesus. The second is 20:24. Here he says he received a ministry from the Lord to testify (διαμαρτύρασθαι) to the gospel of the grace of God.[21]

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[21] The third is Acts 20:26. One exception, however, does not disprove the rule.

Acts 22:1-21 consists of Paul's address to the Jewish mob in Jerusalem. In this address there are three μαρτυρ- cognates. In 22:14-15 Paul tells how Ananias spoke to him of what God's will was for his life. "The God of our fathers appointed you to know his will, to see that Just One and to hear a voice from his mouth; for you will be a witness (μάρτυς) for him to all men of what you have seen and heard." In 22:17 Paul tells how the Lord spoke to him in a trance. "Make haste and get quickly out of Jerusalem, because they will not accept your testimony (μαρτυρίαν) about me." In 22:20 Stephen is spoken of as a witness (μάρτυρός).[22]

Paul has a vision in Acts 23:11. The Lord stands by him and says, "Take courage, for as you have testified (διεμαρτύρω) about me at Jerusalem, so you must bear witness (μαρτυρῆσαι) also at Rome."

Before King Agrippa Paul makes his defense in Acts 26. In his speech the apostle relates how the Lord had appeared to him on the Damascus road. The Lord said to Paul, "I have appeared to you for this purpose, to appoint you to serve and bear witness (μάρτυρα) to the things in which you have seen me and to those in which I will appear to you (26:16)." In response to this call the apostle of the Gentiles stands before Agrippa, "testifying (μαρτυρόμενος) both to small and great, saying nothing but what the prophets and Moses said would come to pass: that the Christ must suffer, and that, by being the first to rise from the dead, he would proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles."

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[22] One wonders whether or not this should be translated by "martyr" instead of "witness." Compare Rev. 2:13.

Just as the Acts began with the concept of the apostolic witness, so it ends. Acts 28:23 tells us that to the Roman Jews Paul was "testifying (διαμαρτυρόμενος) to the kingdom of God and trying to convince them about Jesus both from the law of Moses and from the prophets." From the first chapter to the last the book of Acts is dominated by the concept of witness.

Two things may be said by way of summary and transition. In the first place, it is enlightening to point out that five of the fifteen occurrences of the witness motif are to be found in the kerygmatic speeches of Acts (2:32; 3:15; 5:32; 10:39, 40-41, 42; 13:31). Moreover, five and possibly six more of the references come in other speeches (1:8; 1:21-22; 20:21, 24, 26; 22:14-15, 18; 26:16, 22; possibly 23:11).[23] That leaves only four of the references to be found in the narratives (4:33; 8:25; 18:5; 28:23). In at least two of these narrative references (4:33; 8:25) we may see, with a fair degree of probability, the hand of Luke. Acts 4:33 falls into the category of Lucan summaries which most probably reflect the hand of the author of Acts.[24] In Acts 8:25 we can probably see the hand of the author linking together his separate traditions.[25] In light of the tendency among modern scholars to regard the speeches of Acts as the best indication of the theology of Acts, and in light of the character of the Lucan summaries and transitions in Acts, it would seem beyond reasonable doubt that the witness motif is a reflection of the Lucan mind.[26]

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[23] It should be noted that the distribution of the speeches is balanced. There are as many outside of the most Aramaic section of Acts (chaps. 1-5) as within it. There are as many non-kerygmatic speeches as there are kerygmatic speeches. There are nearly as many speeches by Paul as there are by Peter.

In the second place, there has been a reference to Galilee throughout this motif (1:8; 1:21-22; 10:37, 39; 13:31). The very basis for one's place among the Twelve is that he was with Jesus from Galilee until the ascension. In light of the unity of Luke and Acts, one would expect to find this reference to Galilee leading us to the Third Gospel. It is to the witness motif in Luke that we now turn.

Luke: the preparation of the witnesses.--When we turn to the Third Gospel to the beginning of Jesus' ministry, no statement of facts is better than that of Conzelmann.

> Jesus now turns to the task of gathering the disciples, the group which will later be simply

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[24] Dibelius, Stud. A. A., p. 9; Henry J. Cadbury, "The Summaries in Acts," BC, V, 392-402.

[25] Dibelius, Stud. A. A., p. 10, who cites Preuschen, Wellhausen, and J. Weiss before him.

[26] See chap. ii, pp. 68ff.

> designated "the Galileans", or those who "came up" with him from Galilee. . . . Now the meaning of the first phase of Jesus' ministry becomes clear: it is during this time that the later "witnesses" are assembled.[27]

Luke gives the reader his clue to this motif in 1:1-4. In the preface, which is the only place in the Gospel where the Evangelist could openly address the reader, we hear that the tradition has been delivered "by those who from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word."[28]

The motif begins with Luke 5:1-11, L tradition,[29] where Jesus calls Peter, James, and John. "And when they had brought their boats to land, they left everything and followed him." In 5:27-28=Mark 2:13-14 Jesus calls Levi. "And he left everything, and rose and followed him." Verse 30 indicates that Jesus now has disciples against whom the Pharisees murmur. "And the Pharisees and their scribes murmured against his disciples." The same is true of 5:33-6:5=Mark 2:18-28. Jesus now has disciples around him.

The next step in the development of Luke's thought is found in 6:12-16=Mark 3:13-19. Luke alters Mark at several significant points. First, he changes Mark's οὓς ἤθελεν to τοὺς μαθητὰς αὐτοῦ. This is in line with his development, for the first stage of Jesus' work was calling "disciples." Second, Luke adds οὓς καὶ ἀποστόλους ὠνόμασεν. This also is in the interest of his motif. Now apostles are chosen out of the disciples. In Luke 8:1-3, L tradition, the Twelve are with Jesus. There are also some women with him. It is necessary for Luke to mention them in the Galilean ministry because they will witness the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus in Jerusalem.[30] The witnesses are now assembled and are with Jesus in Galilee.

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[27] Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., p. 38.

[28] In Acts 1, of course, Luke tells the reader what he should have seen.

[29] Luke's source for 5:1-11 is a real question. Possibly he used Mk. 1:16-20 conflated with the tradition behind John 21:1-19.

In this Galilean section of the Third Gospel, 4:16-8:56,[31] Luke's parallel structure involves two sections where Jesus teaches the multitude (6:17-49 and 8:4-8, 16-21).[32] In both of these instances the Third Evangelist makes it clear that the disciples are present. In the first case, Luke places the choice of the Twelve immediately preceding the public instruction (6:12-16). After they have been chosen, Luke says that Jesus came down "with them" (6:17) to a level place and taught.[33] In the second instance, Luke places 8:1-3, L tradition, the parallel to 6:12-16, just before the instruction of the crowd. The Twelve are explicitly mentioned as being with him. In addition, the Evangelist has the disciples ask questions of Jesus in 8:9-15, further indicating their presence. Jesus, moreover, says that the disciples understand the secrets of the Kingdom of God (8:10). The intent of Luke at this point would seem to be to indicate that the future witnesses were not only with him, but also, that, except for his passion predictions, they heard and understood Jesus' teaching. How else could they be sent out to preach the Kingdom of God in 9:2?[34] In Galilee, therefore, the future witnesses are assembled. These witnesses are continually with him, hear him teach, and understand Jesus' public teachings.

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[30] Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., p. 47.

[31] The Galilean section, of course, runs to 9:50. We are concerned here, however, with the section 4:16-8:50. See chap. ii, pp. 103ff.

[32] See chap. ii, pp. 104, 107.

[33] It is significant that Jesus told them (6:40=L): "Every one when he is fully taught will be like his teacher."

Beginning with Luke 9:18ff., with the disciples present, Jesus begins to speak of his passion. The direction of Jesus' ministry is now towards Jerusalem (9:51).[35] The two pericopes, 9:51-56 and 9:57-62, both L tradition, give the indication that the disciples are with Jesus as he starts towards Jerusalem. James and John are mentioned in 9:54. In 9:57 it is said of Jesus and his disciples that "they were going along the road." Conzelmann's suggestion that the mission of the Seventy (10:1-12), L tradition, possibly means that the Twelve stay with Jesus during the journey fits Luke's design perfectly.[36] The presence of ἑτέρους (10:1) confirms this suggestion. Further indications of the presence of the disciples during the journey are given in 11:1 which appears to be a Lucan addition to a possible Q pericope (Matthew 6:9-13=Luke 11:2-4), 12:1a which is a Lucan editorial addition which serves as an introduction for a Q pericope (Matthew 10:26-27=Luke 12:2-3), 12:22a which also is an editorial introduction to a Q section (Matthew 6:25-33=Luke 12:22b-31), 12:41 which is another Lucan addition inserted into Q (Matthew 24:44=Luke 12:4; Matthew 24:45ff.=Luke 12:42ff.), 16:1a which with the entire parable of the Unjust Steward is L material, 17:1a which is a Lucan addition to a possible Q passage (Matthew 18:6-7= Luke 17:1-2), 17:5 which also is peculiar to Luke, 17:22 which is peculiar to Luke, 18:15=Mark 10:13, 18:31=Mark 10:32b-33, and 19:28-40=Mark 11:1-10. The witnesses, therefore, are present during the journey to Jerusalem. The function of the travel section of the Third Gospel is at least partly in the interest of the motif of the authenticated witness.[37]

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[34] In 9:1-6, 10 and 9:12ff. the Twelve are sent out to preach and heal and are instructed to give the crowd something to eat. This seems to be a prefigurement of the mission of the Twelve in Acts just as the mission of the Seventy (Lk. 10) is a prefigurement of Paul's journeys.

[35] For the structure of this section no better suggestion has been offered than that of C. F. Evans, "The Central Section of St. Luke's Gospel," Studies in the Gospels, ed. D. E. Nineham (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1955), 37-53.

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[36] Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., pp. 50-51.

[37] William C. Robinson, Jr., "The Theological Context for Interpreting Luke's Travel Narrative," JBL, LXXIX (1960), 30.

In Jerusalem the Galilean circle is with Jesus. They see and hear everything. Luke 22:14-23[38] finds the apostles with Jesus when he speaks of his imminent suffering. "He sat at table and the apostles with him." Luke 23:49 finds the Galilean circle observing the crucifixion and death of Jesus. "And all his acquaintances and the women who had followed him from Galilee stood at a distance and saw these things." This is but an abbreviated form of Mark 15:40-41.[39] Luke 23:55=Mark 15:47 tells how the burial of Jesus was witnessed. Instead of Mark's, "Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses saw where he was laid," Luke has, "The women who had come with him from Galilee followed, and saw the tomb, and how his body was laid." The Lucan emphasis is distinctly upon the Galilean witnesses. In Luke 24:1-11=Mark 16:1-8[40] the same women come to the tomb on the first day of the week. Luke has several distinctive features. First, he adds to Mark the statement that, "They did not find the body (24:3)."[41] This addition makes their knowledge of the resurrection depend not upon the words of an angel as in Mark but upon their own investigation. Second, he changes the angelic message to read: "Remember how he told you while he was still in Galilee, that the Son of Man must be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified, and on the third day rise." The angelic message agrees with the words of their teacher which they had heard even in Galilee. Third, Luke names the Galilean women in a significant way. Not only is one of the names of Luke 24:10 different from those in Mark so as to conform as closely as possible with Luke 8:1-3,[42] but also, the change of the place in the story where they are identified, from first as in Mark to last in Luke, places the emphasis upon the women as witnesses of the empty tomb. It is also the Galilean circle to whom the resurrection appearances are made (Luke 24:13-53=L tradition). The phrase "two of them" in Luke 24:13 refers back to 24:9-10 and to either the apostles or the rest mentioned there. Luke 24:34, 24:33, and 24:44 point up the same fact. All of these references, moreover, are L matter. Likewise, it is to the Galilean band that the risen Lord presents himself alive during forty days after the resurrection (Acts 1:2-3). "To them he presented himself alive after his passion by many proofs, appearing to them during forty days, and speaking of the Kingdom of God." These same men of Galilee are the witnesses of his ascension (Acts 1:8, 11). There seems to be nothing that escapes the attention of the Galileans in Jerusalem.

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[38] Whether this passage is from Mk. or from L is a much disputed issue. For my conclusion, see chap. ii, p. 95, n. 63.

[39] Lk. 23:48 does add to Mk. the reference about the multitudes who saw Jesus die.

[40] Again there is a question whether this is based upon Mk. or L. In either case the Lucan hand is clearly seen.

[41] Lk. emphasizes that the assurance of the women is based upon their own investigations and not upon the words of the angel. Is this significant in light of Gal. 1:8 and Col. 2:18?

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[42] The similarity between Lk. 24:10 and 8:1-3 is such that it has led some critics to claim that vs. 10 is based upon the earlier passage and is a later insert (Walter Ernest Bundy, Jesus and the Three First Gospels [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955], p. 563). The claim that it is a later insert is made unnecessary by Luke's purpose.

In the Jerusalem section, moreover, there is a constant emphasis upon the fact that those who are now with Jesus were also with him in Galilee. Luke 22:28, L material, reads: "You are those who have continued with me in my trials." This points back to Galilee. In Luke 22:35, L material, Jesus' words recall Luke 9:1ff. and the Galilean preaching mission. "When I sent you out with no purse or bag or sandals, did you lack anything?" In the pericope, Luke 22:54-62=Mark 14:66-72, Peter's denial, verses 56 and 58 echo the Galilean ministry. Verse 59 makes it explicit. "Certainly this man also was with him; for he is a Galilean." Luke 22:59 changes Mark 14:70's ἐξ αὐτῶν εἶ to οὗτος μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦν. To be a Galilean meant to have been with Jesus. Luke 23:5 has the chief priests and multitudes crying out, "He stirs up the people, teaching throughout all Judea, from Galilee even to this place." It is a verse peculiar to Luke. Luke 23:8, which is a part of an L pericope, 23:6-16, recalls Luke 9:7-9 and the Galilean ministry. "When Herod saw Jesus, he was very glad, for he had long desired to see him." Jesus, of course, was sent by Pilate to Herod because the former found out he was a Galilean (23:6). Luke 23:49=Mark 15:40-41 speaks of the women who had followed him from Galilee. Luke 24:6, peculiar to Luke, has the angel recall the words of Jesus which he spoke while he was in Galilee. The Galilean emphasis which we met in Acts, therefore, is even stronger when we focus upon the Jerusalem scenes of the Third Gospel. Those who see and hear in Jerusalem are those who have been with Jesus from the time of the Galilean ministry.[43]

At this point it is again necessary to say two things by way of summary. In the first place, we have found that the Galilean emphasis is even stronger in the Third Gospel than it was in Acts. The witness motif is one that dominates both Lucan volumes. Galilee is the scene of the gathering of the witnesses and of the public teaching which the chosen ones hear and understand. From the confession of Peter the direction of the Gospel is towards Jerusalem. During the journey to the holy city the disciples are continually with him. In Jerusalem the Galileans who have been with him all along are present as Jesus suffers, dies, and is buried. They are present to witness the empty tomb. It is to the Galileans that the resurrection appearances are made. These witnesses behold the ascension. There is no time from the beginning of Jesus' ministry in Galilee to the point of his ascension into heaven that he is without the Galileans.[44] They are with him to hear him and to behold him. They are witnesses to all these things. If Acts records the testimony borne by the witnesses, Luke is the record of their preparation to bear witness.

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[43] Ernst Lohmeyer has argued that the geographical orientation of tradition is an indication of different centers of origin. Material which is dominated by Galilee, especially the resurrection appearances, is from a Galilean Church, while material dominated by Jerusalem is indicative of its origin in a Jerusalem Church. (Galilaea und Jerusalem ["Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments," Neue Folge, XXXIV; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1936]). What does the Lucan evidence say to this? In Lk. in the most Jerusalem dominated tradition we find the strongest emphasis upon Galilee. Would not the Lucan evidence suggest that tradition dominated either by Galilee or Jerusalem points to the theological purpose of the Evangelist instead of different centers of origin?

In the second place, this motif in the Third Gospel is clearly due to the hand of the Evangelist. Over and over again the witness motif in Luke has been seen to be due primarily to the author's treatment of his sources. He modifies Mark and Q where it is necessary to make his point and uses L tradition instead of his other two sources when L fits into his motif. If all of the peculiarly Lucan elements were removed, there would be no witness motif in the Third Gospel.

The meaning of the witness motif.--What is the author's intent when he constructs so elaborate a motif?

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[44] At the one place where Jesus sends out the Twelve, there are no incidents in the life of Jesus given until their return (Lk. 9:1-10).

Two things are clear: (1) that the chosen ones were with Jesus throughout his pre-resurrection ministry, (2) that they were with Jesus throughout his post-resurrection ministry prior to the ascension. The latter of the two facts may offer us a clue to Luke's mind. In the Old Testament and in apocalyptic, forty days symbolize completeness, fulness, or sufficiency of instruction. Moses was on the mountain forty days and forty nights when he received the sufficient revelation of God (Exodus 24:12-18). Baruch was forty days receiving a revelation (II Baruch 76:1-4). Ezra was forty days in writing everything that was in the law (II Esdras 14).[45] In each case the forty day period indicates a sufficient revelation from God. The chosen apostles are in the same kind of situation as were Moses, Baruch, and Ezra. To them the risen Jesus appears during forty days presenting proofs of his resurrection (Acts 1:3a) and speaking to them of the Kingdom of God (1:3b). In this way Luke is saying that they have sufficient knowledge both of the reality of the resurrection and the fulness of his teaching. If this is the intent of Luke in recounting the period of forty days after the resurrection, then it is likely that the period from Galilee to the resurrection has the same purpose. The chosen ones are with Jesus at every point. They witness all that he does and hear with understanding his public teaching. They have a complete and sufficient knowledge of the pre-resurrection life and public teaching of Jesus just as they do of Jesus' post-resurrection life and teaching. If the testimony to Jesus that is given in Acts is grounded in their knowledge, a certainty adheres to the proclamation. The witness motif functions as a guarantee for the Church's message.

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[45] That II Bar. and II Esd. stand near to Luke-Acts in point of time is significant.

Why would Luke feel a need for a guarantee of the Church's proclamation? Against what sort of threat to the Church's message would such a guarantee be useful? We may be helped to see against what Luke wished to give a guarantee if we note for what the guarantee is given. The answer is obvious. The guarantee is given for the total career of Jesus, from the baptism of John to the ascension. This is the point of the heavy accent on Galilee and is the explicit statement of Acts 10:39. "And we are witnesses to all that he did both in the country of the Jews and in Jerusalem." Yet within this guarantee given for the total career of Jesus, it is obvious that certain particular aspects of that career come up for special consideration. Luke specifies certain events of Jesus' ministry as special objects of the Galileans' observation. Two strands of evidence make this clear to us.

In the first instance, this fact is made clear when we note that to which testimony is borne by the witnesses in Acts. Of the fifteen separate groups of references to the apostolic witness that we have mentioned from Acts, only twelve give any clear object of the witness. Acts 1:8, 8:25, and 23:11 are not explicit. Out of the twelve groups of references that give an explicit object of the witnesses' testimony, only one, that cited above (10:39), mentions the entire career of Jesus, beginning in Galilee. Out of the twelve, however, nine mention the resurrection or the appearances of the risen Lord as the object of the witnesses' testimony (1:21-22; 2:32; 3:15; 4:20, 33; 5:32; 10:40-41; 13:31; 22:14-15; 26:16, 22-23). The death of Jesus is included within the witness guarantee at least three times (3:14-15; 5:30-32; 26:22-23). The burial is almost certainly mentioned once, in 13:29-31. The exaltation of Jesus is included within the scope of the witness guarantee in 5:31-32. From these facts it is clear that the emphasis is not upon the total career of Jesus but upon the events that took place in Jerusalem. The emphasis is upon Jesus' passion and particularly his resurrection. Above all, the witness guarantee is intended to cover the resurrection of our Lord.

In the second instance, the fact that certain events are singled out of the total career of Jesus by Luke for observation by the witnesses is made clear when we note five elements in a Lucan pattern in Luke 23-24 and Acts 1. The first part of the pattern is found in Luke 23:49=Mark 15:40-41. Here the Evangelist condenses his source so that the qualification of having followed him from Galilee cannot be missed. "And all his acquaintances and the women who had followed him from Galilee stood at a distance and saw these things." The Galileans see Jesus crucified. They watch him die. The second part of this pattern is found in Luke 23:55=Mark 15:47. Instead of Mark's, "Mary Magdalene and Mary the mother of Joses saw where he was laid," Luke has, "The women who had come with him from Galilee followed and saw the tomb, and how his body was laid." The emphasis in Luke's version is twofold. On the one hand, the accent is upon the qualifications of those who saw. They had been with Jesus from Galilee to this point. On the other hand, Luke explicitly mentions the body of Jesus. The chosen, qualified witnesses saw the body of Jesus buried. The third part of the pattern is found in Luke 24:3. Here we find a sentence peculiar to Luke. "When they went in they did not find the body." The same Galileans witness for themselves the absence of the body from the tomb where earlier they had seen it laid. The fourth part comes in Luke 24:13-53, L tradition. Here the Galileans witness the appearance of the risen Lord. Acts 1:3-4, where Jesus' appearances during the forty days to the Galileans is mentioned, should also be included here. The fifth and final part of this Lucan pattern is found in Acts 1:9. "As they were looking on, he was lifted up, and a cloud took him out of their sight." The Galileans (1:11) witness his ascension. Thus, while Luke definitely desires his witness motif to guarantee the whole of Jesus' career, and hence the Galilean emphasis, he just as clearly wants to specify certain special events as objects of the witnesses' observation. So he constructs a pattern around Jesus' death and burial, the empty tomb, the resurrection appearances, and the ascension so that the qualified witnesses are present to observe them. At no other place in the Gospel does Luke make such an attempt. It is clear that out of the total career of Jesus which he is concerned to guarantee, he takes special pains to emphasize the guarantee for Jesus' passion, resurrection, and ascension.

In both the Acts and the Third Gospel, therefore, we have seen that the content of the Church's total message that Luke is especially concerned to guarantee is that of the saving events in Jerusalem, particularly the resurrection. But why should these events be singled out of the total career of Jesus for special notice? The way in which Luke describes these special events is instructive.

With the possible exception of the crucifixion, each of the particular events at the close of Jesus' career which are singled out for special attention by the Third Evangelist are described so as to accent the materiality of the event.

At the burial, Luke (23:55) reworks Mark 15:47 so that the women see the *body* of Jesus laid in the tomb. When these same women go to the empty tomb, Luke 24:3 has its own peculiar remark. "They did not find the *body*." Luke 24:23 plays up the same fact. In this L passage the two men say that the women "did not find his *body*." When the risen Jesus appears to the Eleven in Luke 24:36-43, L material, the disciples think he is a spirit. The pericope offers two proofs that the risen Lord is not a spirit but is rather *flesh and bones*. First, Jesus says, "See my hands and feet, that it is I myself; handle me, and see; for a spirit has not flesh and bones as you see that I have (24:39)." Second, Jesus asks for something to eat. "They gave him a piece of broiled fish, and he took it and ate before them (24:42-43)." In Acts 1:4, in connection with the appearances during the forty days, Luke says that Jesus was συναλιζόμενος with the Galileans. This is a difficult word and a number of translations have been suggested.[46] The one that is most probable is that which reads "eating."[47] The linguistic and external evidence for this reading are confirmed not only by the Lucan statement that Jesus ate before his disciples (Luke 24:41-43) but also by the explicit statement of Acts 10:41. Peter says that the witnesses of Jesus' resurrection were οἵτινες συνεφάγομεν καὶ συνεπίομεν αὐτῶ μετὰ τὸ ἀναστῆναι αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν. Here again we are met with the same Lucan emphasis on the materiality of the risen Lord. The same tendency may be observed in regard to the ascension. The use of expressions such as ἐπήρθη, βλεπόντων αὐτῶν, ὑπέλαβεν, ἀπὸ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν αὐτῶν, and ἀτενίζοντες (1:9-10) clearly suggest the materiality of Luke's description of the ascension.[48] The tendency which we have found in the descriptions of these events in the career of Jesus seems bent upon guaranteeing a real death, a real burial, a physical resurrection, physical appearances, and a physical ascension. This means that the entire witness motif is constructed to guarantee especially the materiality of these events as the valid content of the Church's proclamation. The witness of the Galileans guarantees the fact that Jesus was not just a spirit but was really flesh and blood.

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[46] Macgregor, *IB*, IX, 27; Walter Bauer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, trans. William F. Arndt and F. Wilbur Gingrich (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 791. Cited hereafter as *Lexicon*.

[47] Clayton Raymond Bowen, "The Meaning of συναλιζόμενος in Acts 1:4," *ZNW*, XIII (1912), 247-59.

At this point we must recall the collection of evidence from past research which was presented at the first of this chapter. There it was pointed out that many scholars regard the materialization of the resurrection appearances in Luke 24:36-43 and in Acts 1:4 and 10:41 as anti-docetic in nature.[49] In light of the fact that Luke 24:36-43 states as the problem against which it is directed the belief that the risen Christ is a spirit rather than flesh and bones, and since at the time the Lucan documents were written it was Docetists who posed this issue for the Church, it seems highly likely that the explanation offered by past research is the correct one. If the materialization of the resurrection appearances is explained by this hypothesis, however, it is to this same motive that we should appeal as an explanation of the entire pattern. We may consider it probable, therefore, that when Luke writes so as to have a motif of authentic witness guaranteeing the Church's proclamation particularly at the point of the materiality of Jesus' death, burial, resurrection, and ascension, it is done to protect against a docetic tendency that confronted him.

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[48] P. A. van Stempvoort, "Interpretation of the Ascension in Luke and Acts," NTS, V (1958), 37-39; Amos N. Wilder, "Variant Traditions of the Resurrection in Acts," JBL, LXII (1943), 310.

This discovery spurs us on to examine the second Lucan motif, that which concerns the problem of the interpretation of the Old Testament.

The True Exposition of Scripture

A parallel between the Gospel and Acts.--Not only do we find a parallel between events in the life of Jesus in

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[49] See pp. 193f.

Luke and the life of the Church in Acts,[50] we also find that the interpretation of Scripture made by Jesus and that of the Church are paralleled. This parallelism may be seen in the following sketch:

Luke: Jesus as Interpreter	Acts: The Church as Interpreter
John is the one who prepared the way as Malachi 3:1 foretold (7:27).	1. The accurate exposition of Scripture sees John as only a forerunner (18:24-28).
My person is the fulfillment of the Old Testament hopes (4:16-30; 20:17).[51]	2. The man Jesus is the fulfillment of the Old Testament hopes (3:22-26; 4:11; 10:43; 13:23; 17:2-3; 18:28; 28:23).
My sufferings, death, resurrection, and exaltation are a fulfillment of the Old Testament (9:22, 44; 17:25; 13:33; 24:7; 18:31-34; 22:37; 24:25-27, 32; 24;44-49).[52]	3. Jesus' sufferings, death, resurrection, and ascension were a fulfillment of the Old Testament (2:25-28, 31; 3:24-25, 17-18; 8:30-35; 13:27-39; 17:2-3, 11; 26:22-23).

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[50] See chap. ii, pp. 81ff.

[51] Lk. 19:28-44 may possibly be intended here. The entry seems to be understood by Luke as an acted interpretation of the Old Testament by Jesus so as to claim that he is the promised one. The response mentioned in vss. 42-44 lends credence to this view.

[52] Should the use of δεῖ in the Lucan writings be construed as meaning the divine necessity of the fulfillment of Scripture? It is clear that in all instances it cannot be so construed (Lk. 15:32; Acts 19:36). In the majority of instances, it refers to the divine necessity, however. Yet many of these references are so general that no decision about the relation of the divine necessity and the fulfillment of Scripture can be reached (Lk. 19:5; Acts 5:29). In some of the many references where δεῖ is used of divine necessity, however, the necessity is understood explicitly as connected with the fulfillment of Scripture: (1) Lk. 22:37=L, (2) Lk. 24:25-27=L, (3) Lk. 24:44-49=L, (4) Acts 17:2-3.

Moreover, in Lk. 24:44-49, the Evangelist points back to the pre-passion period. In that period, Jesus used δεῖ in speaking to the apostles of his passion-resurrection. In

The Old Testament promised the Holy Spirit (24:49; Acts 1:4).[53]	4. The coming of the Holy Spirit is the fulfillment of the Old Testament (2:16-21).
The Old Testament points to the rejection of the Christ by the Jews (20:17-18).	5. The rejection of Jesus by the Jewish people is a fulfillment of the Old Testament (13:40-41, 27; 28:25-27; possibly 1:16-20).
The Old Testament foretold a	6. The Old Testament is fulfilled

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Lk. 24:6-9 we meet the same backward reference in which δεῖ is used in connection with the passion-resurrection. The reference to Scripture, however, is absent. Yet the close conjunction of 24:6-9 and 24:44ff. makes it clear that it is implicit. Moreover, if it is implicit here, it may be elsewhere in the Gospel in places where Jesus speaks to the apostles in a pre-passion period of his passion-resurrection. Lk. 22:37 does not exhaust the references in Lk. 24. Where else could they be? Several references, 9:22, 13:33, 17:25, come to mind. The δεῖ in these passion references carries the fulfillment of the Old Testament implicitly for Luke.

Furthermore, Lk. 9:44 should most likely fall into this category though it does not have δεῖ but rather μέλλω. This is true for several reasons. (1) μέλλω may refer to action that necessarily follows a divine decree (Bauer, Lexicon, p. 502). Its meaning, therefore, is close to that of δεῖ. (2) Lk. 9:44 adds μέλλω to Mk. 9:31. (3) The of 9:44 is linked with the μέλλω of 9:31. In the latter, as in the former case, the μέλλω is peculiarly Lucan. Moreover, in 9:31 the μέλλω is connected with πλγροῦν, which probably means "fulfill." (4) The παραδίδωμι of 9:44 is linked to the παραδίδωμι of 18:31-32. The latter παραδίδωμι is connected with the explicit reference to fulfillment of Scripture. This reference is peculiarly Lucan.

For a detailed argument which comes to essentially the same conclusion, see Schubert, op. cit.

[53] Should the expression "the promise of the Father" be understood to refer to the Word of God in the Old Testament? Should Lk. 24:49 and acts 1:4 be understood as referring to the fulfillment of the Old Testament? Peter's sermon in Acts 2:14-36 gives us the clue. The exalted Christ has received the promise of the Spirit from the Father and has poured it out upon the apostles (2:33). This gift of the Spirit is a fulfillment of the prophecy of Joel (2:16-21). The concept of promise is alse connected with the Word of Scripture in Acts 13:23, 32-33, 26:6-8.

mission to the Gentiles (24:47; possibly 4:25-27).		in the Church's mission to the Gentiles (13:47 and possibly 14:26;[54] 15:15-18; 26:22-23).
The Old Testament teaches a general resurrection of the dead (20:37).	7.	The Old Testament teaches a general resurrection of the dead (24:14-15; 26:6-8).[55]

When we reflect upon these seven points of Christian exegesis, we become aware of the fact that they present seven aspects of a Christian picture of salvation-history running from the Baptist to the general resurrection. This salvation-history was foretold by the Old Testament. It is, therefore, a predetermined plan of God which has largely been fulfilled in these last times. It is as though Luke was trying to say that the Church's interpretation of Scripture and thereby of salvation-history is nothing more than an extension in time of Jesus' interpretation of the Old Testament and his view of salvation-history.[56]

Methodologically it is now necessary to check, as far as possible, this parallelism against Luke's use of his sources to determine whether this is a reflection of his mind and thought. Let us begin by examining the passages in the

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[54] The verb πληροῦν should most likely be understood as meaning "fulfill." It is peculiar to Lk. It is connected with Moses and Elijah. It is a part of Luke's over-all proof-from-prophecy theology (Schubert, *op. cit.*; also Edward Lohse, "Lukas als Theologe der Heilsgeschichte," *Evan. Th.*, XIV [1954], 261).

[55] The expression "promise to the fathers" refers to the Word of God in Scripture. See n. 53.

[56] Conzelmann, *Theol. Lk.*, pp. 157, 162.

Third Gospel. We will take them as they come in the previous sketch.

The first group is that which has Jesus say that John the Baptist is the one who fulfilled Malachi 3:1 by serving as the preparer of the way. Luke 7:27 is the reference here. The pericope, Luke 7:24-35, is Q material (=Matthew 11:7-19). Luke 7:27 makes no relevant alteration in the Q material because none was needed.

The second group is that in which Jesus claims to be the fulfillment of the Old Testament hope. Luke 4:16-21 falls into this group. The closest parallel to Luke 4:16-30 is Mark 6:1-6. The two pericopes, however, are so different that one wonders whether Luke was even dependent upon Mark at all.[57] Regardless of how one settles the issue of Luke's sources for 4:16-30, verses 17-21 are clearly Lucan. If 4:16-30 is considered a variation of Mark 6:1-6, then verses 17-21 are a Lucan addition to Mark. If 4:16-30 is regarded as L tradition, then the very preference is an indication of the Lucan mind. Luke 20:17=Mark 12:10 should possibly be included here also. If so, no change was necessary for the source to serve Luke's purpose.

The third group of passages is that in which Jesus claims that his sufferings, death, resurrection, and exaltation are foretold by Scripture and are thereby fulfillments. Into this category fall Luke 9:22, 44 together with 17:25, 13:33, 24:7, 18:31-34, 22:37, 24:25-27, 32, and 24:44-49. Luke 9:22, 44 comprise the first two predictions of the passion (=Mark 8:31 and 9:31). Both of these verses contain minor variations from Mark. These variations, however, appear to be primarily stylistic. Luke 17:25 is peculiar to the Third Evangelist. So also is Luke 13:33. The third passion prediction comes at Luke 18:31-34=Mark 10:32-34. Here Luke makes a significant addition to his source. In verse 31b Luke adds καὶ τελεσθήσεται πάντα τὰ γεγραμμένα διὰ τῶν προφητῶν τῶ υἱῶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. "Everything that is written of the Son of Man by the prophets will be accomplished." Luke 22:35-38, the pericope in which the next interpretation of Scripture is found (22:37) is L tradition. Luke 24:6-7 is peculiar to Luke. So also are the last two passages in this group, 24:25-27, 32 and 24:44-49. In the third group of passages, as in the second, therefore, for the most part we see the hand of Luke at work.

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[57] The source used here is a matter of debate. Two views are proposed: (1) that Lk. is a violent alteration of Mk., (2) that Lk. is using L tradition. See Bundy, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

The fourth group of passages is that which has Jesus speaking about the "promise of the Father." Luke 24:49 and Acts 1:4 belong in this category. It is impossible to check Acts 1:4 because of the difficulty of source criticism of Acts. It is possible, however, to point out that Luke 24:49

is peculiar to Luke. This makes it probable that it reflects the Lucan mind to some degree.

The fifth group is that which has Jesus claim that the Old Testament predicted his rejection by the Jews. Into this category falls Luke 20:17-18. Luke 20:17 omits Mark 12:11, παρὰ κυρίου ἐγένετο αὕτη, καὶ ἔστιν θαυμαστὴ· ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν. He also adds verse 10 which underlines the possible background in Daniel 2:34, 35, 44 or Isaiah 8:14-15.[58] By these changes Luke makes explicit the note of rejection which was already implicit in verse 17. This is a significant change.

The sixth group is that which has Jesus' claim that the Old Testament foretold a mission to the Gentiles. Into this category fall Luke 24:47 and possibly 4:25-27. Luke 24:47 and its context are L tradition. Luke 4:25-27 is also peculiar to Luke. It is probable, therefore, that they reflect the Lucan mind.

The seventh group is that in which Jesus claims that the Old Testament teaches a general resurrection of the dead. Luke 20:37=Mark 12:26 is the passage under consideration here. The alterations of Mark are stylistic. No change was necessary for this passage to fit into the Evangelist's scheme.

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[58] Alfred Robert Clare Leaney, A Commentary on the Gospel according to St. Luke ("Harper's New Testament Commentaries"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1958), p. 251.

From our examination of the Lucan passages in which Jesus is presented as an interpreter of Scripture what have we found? Our investigation has revealed that in five out of seven categories into which Jesus' interpretation of the Old Testament falls in the Third Gospel, the hand of the Evangelist is seen unmistakeably at work. The only two categories in which no alterations or additions were made to Mark and Q were those where no change was required for the parallel. Our conclusion, therefore, must be that the motif of Jesus as interpreter parallel to the Church as interpreter, as far as it can be determined from the Third Gospel, is a definite part of the Lucan mind.

When we turn to the references from Acts, the lack of any accepted source analysis prevents us from following the same procedure as that used in Luke. Since the speeches of Acts are regarded as reflecting the author's mind, however, they may serve as a check in Acts.[59] Of the individual references from Acts given in the sketch above, sixteen come from the speeches, eight from the narratives. Only the category relating to John the Baptist lacks a reference from the speeches of Acts. This fact seems to confirm the conclusion drawn after checking Luke's use of sources in the Gospel. This parallelism which sees the interpretation of the Old

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[59] See chap. ii, p. 68.

Testament by the Church as identical with that of Jesus is a clear reflection of Lucan theology.

The failure to understand.--When we have seen that the way in which the Church interprets Scripture in Acts parallels the way in which Jesus interprets Scripture in the Third Gospel, just as the sequence of events in Acts parallels that in Luke, we have not yet exhausted the mind of the Evangelist in regard to his motif of the true interpretation of Scripture. If we take two passages at the beginning of the Third Gospel which serve the same function for Luke's motif that a key signature does for a musical composition, we will be able to discern the Evangelist's intent more fully. These two passages are Luke 2:39-52 and 4:9-12.

First, let us take Luke 2:39-52, L tradition. The unit 2:41-51 is enclosed between two verses (2:40, 52) which speak of Jesus' wisdom. The unit (2:41-51) also emphasizes Jesus' wisdom. In 2:47 the young Jesus amazes everyone with his understanding (συνέσις). In the context it is clear that Jesus' understanding is related to his interpretation of Torah. What else would the questions he asked of the teachers in the Temple imply? In contrast to Jesus' understanding (συνέσις), his parents do not understand (συνίημι).

Next let us examine Luke 4:9-12, a part of the Q story of the temptations of Jesus (=Matthew 4:1-11). As is shown in the Appendix to Chapter Two, Luke shifted the order of the temptations so they would fit his structural design which paralleled 2:41-51 and 4:1-13.[60] The scene is again Jerusalem. Jesus is confronted with a misuse of Scripture by Satan (4:10-11) which he rejects with Scripture (4:12). Here again it is possible to see the contrast between Jesus' understanding of Scripture and another's misunderstanding. The issue here concerns the relation of Scripture to the Son of God. Satan's misunderstanding was essentially that he failed to see what Scripture was fulfilled in the Son.

These two passages, standing as they do at the head of the Third Gospel, give a clue to what will follow. Jesus will be the wise one, the true interpreter of Scripture. He will be confronted by a lack of understanding throughout his ministry.

Our previous examination which presented the parallel between Jesus as interpreter in Luke and the Church as interpreter in Acts has shown clearly Luke's concept of Jesus as the true expositor. Side by side with this concept, however, is a motif of misunderstanding. In Luke 4:16-30 Jesus is shown as he reads from Isaiah 61:1-2 and then interprets it as fulfilled in himself (4:21). The response of the people (4:22-24) consists of three verses, each of which reveals their failure to understand. Of these verses, verse

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[60] See pp. 305.

22 is similar to Mark 6:3 and verse 24 is similar to Mark 6:4. There is enough difference, however, to raise a question about Luke's dependence upon Mark. Taking the three verses together, it is necessary to see a distinct reflection of the Lucan hand, regardless of how the source question is settled. That Jesus is the anointed one of God (4:18) the people of Nazareth do not see.

The pericope, Luke 7:24-35=Matthew 11:7-19 is Q material. As a response to Jesus interpretation of Malachi 3:1, applying it to John, Luke adds verses 29-30. There we are told that a division existed with the Pharisees and lawyers rejecting Jesus' interpretation. Again a failure to understand the Old Testament aright grips the people.[61]

In Luke 9:45=Mark 9:32 the disciples' response to Jesus' second passion prediction is given. Luke 9:44 we have already found to be a part of the category relating to Jesus' understanding of the scriptural necessity for his passion.[62] Into Mark's brief sentence Luke inserts καὶ ἦν παρακεκαλυμμένον απ'αὐτῶν ἵνα μὴ αἴσθωνται αὐτό. "And it was concealed from them, that they should not perceive it." The passive indicates that an external agency kept them ignorant.

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[61] Luke, no doubt, would have us understand that the failure to see John as a forerunner was essentially a failure to accept the Baptist's testimony about Jesus. See Lk. 20:1-8.

[62] See pp. 220-21.

Luke 18:31-34=Mark 10:32-34 is the third prediction of the passion. Luke has altered Mark by adding a reference to the fulfillment of what the prophets wrote in Jesus' passion and resurrection (18:31b). Moreover, Luke adds the response of the Twelve (18:34). Καὶ αὐτοὶ οὐδὲν τούτων συνῆκαν, καὶ ἦν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο κεκρυμμένον ἀπ'αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκον τὰ λεγόμενα. "But they understood none of these things; this saying was hid from them, and they did not grasp what was said." The passive again points to some external agency.

Luke 20:9-19=Mark 12:1-12 contains another example of Jesus' interpretation of the Old Testament. In verse 17 he quotes Psalm 118:22 as being fulfilled by the Jewish rejection of the beloved Son. Omitting Mark 12:11=Psalm 118:23, Luke adds a verse (20:18) which echoes either Daniel 2:34, 35, 44 or Isaiah 8:14-15. "Every one who falls on that stone will be broken to pieces; but when it falls on any one it will crush him." This addition heightens the note of rejection implicit in Luke 20:17. This rejection reveals their lack of understanding that Jesus is the head of the corner.

Luke 20:27-40=Mark 12:23-30 recounts the question about the resurrection put to Jesus by the Sadducees. Jesus' answer involves an interpretation of Scripture. In verse 37 he appeals to Exodus 3:6. "But that the dead are raised, even Moses showed, in the passage about the bush, where he calls the Lord the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac and the God of Jacob." Since God is not the God of the dead, if Scripture calls him the God of Abraham, then Abraham must not be dead (20:38). That the Sadducees even asked the question indicated their failure to understand that the Torah teaches a general resurrection. No change in his source was necessary for Luke to make his point.[63]

Luke 20:41-44=Mark 12:35-37a has Jesus ask some unnamed opponents about the meaning of Psalm 110:1. The point is obviously that their Messianic expectation does not square with a true interpretation of Scripture. Again no change was necessary.

In Luke 22:37-38, L tradition, Jesus interprets Isaiah 53:12 to refer to his coming passion. The answer of the disciples about the swords is obviously intended by Luke to indicate the disciples' complete lack of understanding.[64]

In Luke 24:6-11, L material, there is a reminiscence of the teaching in Galilee. "The Son of Man must (δεῖ) be delivered into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified,[65] and on the third day rise." Even after the women have told them of the empty tomb, the apostles (24:10) do not believe (24:11). Once again the disciples fail to understand the divine necessity of Scripture's fulfillment.

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[63] Is Luke purposely avoiding Mk.'s statement that they did not know the Scriptures because he wishes the reader to assume that they did know but failed to understand it aright? This was the case with Agrippa in Acts 26 where the issue is at least partly the matter of a general resurrection.

[64] Lk. 22:27 tones down Mk. 10:45, no doubt, because of the Lucan treatment of the atonement. See Tannehill, op. cit., 197ff. Also, see H. McLachlan, "St. Luke's Doctrine of the Atonement," HJ, XVII (1918-19), 688-93.

Luke 24:25-27, L tradition, has Jesus reprove the two on the road to Emmaus because they are "foolish" (ἀνόητοι) and "slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken." He tells them that it was necessary (ἔδει) for the Christ to suffer and interprets the Old Testament for them. Here again we catch the same two motifs with which we began. On the one hand, Jesus is the true interpreter of the Old Testament. On the other hand, he is met by a persistent lack of understanding.

What conclusions can we draw from the present investigation? Our conclusions are three. First, we gain a picture of the general populace. They are blind and cannot understand that Scripture points to Jesus as God's anointed one. Some, moreover, do not hear the Old Testament speak of a general resurrection.

Second, the disciples fail to understand that the Christ must suffer and rise again. We must not suppose, however, that Luke wishes us to think that there was no difference between the general populace and the disciples. The disciples were blind at only this one point. They understood and believed that Jesus was the Christ. In Luke 8:10=Mark 4:11 Jesus tells them: "To you it has been given to know the secrets of the kingdom of God; but for others they are in parables, so that seeing they may not see, and hearing they may not understand." In Luke 9:1ff.=Mark 6:7ff. Jesus sends the Twelve out to preach the Kingdom of God. In Luke 9:20=Mark 8:29 Jesus asks the disciples, "Who do you (ὑμεῖς) say that I am?" Their spokesman, Peter, answers, "The Christ of God." In Luke 10:23-24=Matthew 13:16-17 Jesus says privately to his disciples: "Blessed are the eyes which see what you see. For I tell you that many prophets and kings desired to see what you see, and did not see it, and to hear what you hear, and did not hear it." Luke 24:21, L tradition, continues the same emphasis. The two on the road to Emmaus say, "We had hoped that he was the one to redeem Israel." The picture that we get of the disciples is twofold.[66] On the one hand, they understand that Jesus is the Christ. This differentiates them from the crowds. On the other hand, they are kept from rightly understanding the Old Testament prophecy that the Christ must suffer and rise again.[67]

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[65] Of course, the means of death, that is, by crucifixion, was not specified.

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[66] The twofold picture likely reflects a tension between two concerns of Luke, the continuity of witness and the ignorance of men prior to their enlightenment by the risen Christ.

Third, we conclude that the motif of the failure to understand Scripture aright which we find in the Third Gospel is due to the definite intent of the Evangelist. Examination of his use of his sources indicates that the motif reflects the Lucan mind.[68]

Since the motif of blindness to the true message of the Old Testament which we have found in the Third Gospel is the work of the author of Luke-Acts, we would expect to find some sort of continuation in the Acts. Our expectations are not disappointed. In Acts 3:17, in the middle of his sermon (3:12-26), Peter says, "Brethren, I know that you acted in ignorance, as did also your rulers." He refers, of course, to the crucifixion of Jesus (3:13-15) because they did not understand the Old Testament. They failed to understand that Jesus was the Christ.

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[67] What keeps them from understanding this one point? We have seen (p. 222) that Luke understands salvation-history as the gradual unfolding of a predetermined plan of God which the enlightened interpreter can find in the Old Testament. Each event happens according to God's schedule when its particular time arrives (Lk. 1:20; 4:21; 9:51; 19:44; 22:22; Acts 1:7; 2:1). Acts 17:30 speaks of the pre-resurrection times as "the times of ignorance." Lk. 8:10 says that the disciples' understanding prior to the resurrection was given to them. Thus, Luke must understand God as giving the gift of insight to man in accordance with the various stages of his predetermined plan. It is to God that the passive points.

[68] The failure of the disciples to understand is, of course, present in Luke's source, Mk., but Luke makes the misunderstanding apply explicitly to interpretation of Scripture, whereas in Mk. it is only implicit.

The story of Philip and the eunuch (8:26-40) furnishes another example. The eunuch reads from Isaiah the prophet (8:30). He cannot understand what he is reading, however, for he has no one to guide him (8:31, 34). Philip, however, interprets Isaiah 53:7-8 as referring to Jesus (8:35). The eunuch understands and believes. Here we find the same inability to understand remedied by the representative of Jerusalem Christianity, Philip. The Church, therefore, has the true interpretation of Scripture and can help men to read it aright.

Acts 13:16-41 is a sermon of Paul at Antioch of Pisidia. Paul says that those who condemned Jesus did so because they did not understand (ἀγνοήσαντες) the prophets (13:27). Their inability to understand caused them not to recognize the Savior, Jesus (13:23).

In Acts 17:2-7 Paul is in Thessalonica. There he argues from the Scriptures that the suffering and resurrection of the Christ were necessary (ἔδει). There was a division of response. Some were persuaded (17:4). Others, however, rejected Paul's exposition and had the apostles, Paul and Silas, expelled from the city. The motif of lack of understanding continues.

Acts 26:22-23 has Paul arguing before King Agrippa.

His argument is twofold. In the first place, he argues that he is on trial because he hopes in the promise made by God to the fathers, the resurrection of the dead (26:6-8). In the second place, he argues that the prophets and Moses said that the Christ would suffer and rise from the dead. Paul asks the king point blank, "King Agrippa, do you believe the prophets?" Agrippa's response is enlightening. Though Paul says the king believes the prophets (26:27b), his response is negative. He does not see the interpretation that Paul gives.

The motif of blindness concludes the book. Paul tries to convince the Roman Jews about Jesus from the law of Moses and the prophets (28:23). Though some were convinced, others disbelieved (28:24). The quotation from Isaiah 6:9-10 (28:26-27) indicates that the author places the emphasis upon their disbelief. They hear but do not understand. They see but do not perceive. The Old Testament is a closed book for them.

What conclusions can we draw from this brief sketch? Our conclusions are three. First, we see that the world at large still does not understand the Old Testament.

Second, the Church now understands not only that Jesus is the Christ but also that it was necessary for the Christ to suffer and to rise from the dead. The one solitary thing that the disciples did not understand had been cleared up. They have become the true interpreters of Scripture who can assist in opening the eyes of the blind (8:30-35; 26:18). This second observation raises a problem. How is it that the disciples are now the true expositors of the Old Testament? The clue is furnished by Luke 24:44-49, L material. There we are told that the risen Lord, when he appeared to the Eleven (24:33, 36), "opened their minds to understand the scriptures (24:45)." The specific content of Scripture that he interpreted to them was the one thing which prior to this time they had failed to understand. When Luke says, "He opened their minds to understand the scriptures (24:45)," he refers to the fact that the Christ must suffer and rise again. In this way Luke makes the transition from the Gospel, in which the disciples do not understand the single point about the passion and resurrection of Jesus, to the Acts where the Church is the true interpreter of the Old Testament. The Church has the risen Lord as her teacher. The wise one, Jesus, who in his career upon the earth was the true expositor, by his resurrection has opened the minds of the Church to read the Old Testament aright.

Third, the fact that half of the passages dealing with blindness to the message of the Old Testament come in speeches is a clear indication that we are dealing with the Lucan mind in Acts just as we were in the Third Gospel.

The meaning of the scripture motif.--What is the author's intent when he constructs so elaborate a motif? Several facts must be taken into account. First, the parallelism which is so characteristic of Luke's method always serves the purpose of binding two things together. Parallels are intended to represent unity.[69] Second, the insertion of the pericope where the risen Christ opens the minds of the disciples to that meaning of Scripture which he had given all along but which they had failed to perceive (24:44ff.) makes explicit the authority upon which the Church's exegesis rests. The Church has been taught by Jesus. Even the one thing the disciples failed to understand during the pre-passion ministry, the risen Lord has made clear to them. They are now fully instructed. Third, the motif of scriptural interpretation is closely intertwined with the witness motif. Acts 26:22-23 and 28:23 make this quite clear. These three facts seem to prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that this second motif, that of the true interpretation of Scripture, functions, as did the first motif, as a guarantee of the Church's message.

If it functions as a guarantee, the question arises why Luke should feel compelled to guarantee the Church's exegesis of Scripture. Against what threat would such a guarantee prove necessary? Perhaps the question against what

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[69] F. J. Foakes-Jackson and Kirsopp Lake, "The Internal Evidence of Acts," BC, II, 182.

Luke needed protection can be answered if we can discern for what the guarantee is provided. The answer to this question is obvious. Luke wishes to guarantee the entire Christian picture of salvation history as it was foretold in the Old Testament from John the Baptist to the general resurrection. The entirety of Christian exegesis of Scripture comes under the guarantee. This is the basic implication of the parallelism. Yet within this guarantee given for the total picture of salvation history as foretold in Scripture, it is obvious that certain particular aspects of that picture come up for special consideration.

We may discern the particular points of the total Christian interpretation of Scripture that Luke was especially concerned about if we ask what specific elements of the Church's exegesis of the Old Testament are associated with Luke's accent upon the response of misunderstanding which confronted Jesus and the Church. When Luke presents Jesus and the Church as the true interpreters of Scripture, he often accompanies the presentation with a reference to a misunderstanding or lack of perception with which they are confronted. What particular things does he say are not understood?

If we examine the passages where Luke indicates the exegesis of Jesus was not understood, we find that there are three particular things to which people are blinded. They are: (1) that the Christ is Jesus (Luke 4:16-24; 6:1-5; 7:27-30; 20:17-18), (2) that the Christ must suffer and rise again (Luke 9:22, 44-45; 17:25; 18:31-34; 22:37; 24:6-11; 24:25-27), and (3) that there will be a general resurrection (Luke 20:37). The first fact is understood by the disciples but by no one else. The second fact is not understood even by the disciples. The third fact is denied by the Sadducees.

If we examine the passages in Acts where a failure to understand Scripture is mentioned, we find again the same three things. They are: (1) that the Christ is Jesus (Acts 4:11; 13:27; 3:17), (2) that the Christ must suffer and rise again (Acts 8:32-33; 17:2ff.), and (3) that there will be a general resurrection (Acts 24:14-15, 22-27; 26:6-8, 27-28). The Jews fail to understand that the Christ is Jesus. The Ethiopian eunuch and the Thessalonian Jews fail to understand that the Christ must suffer and rise. The Jews who accuse Paul and King Agrippa fail to perceive the teaching about a general resurrection. The disciples, however, are now entirely freed from blindness by the risen Lord. It is the world that cannot see.

The agreement between the Gospel and the Acts at this point seems to indicate that Luke was faced with a problem of misinterpretation of the Old Testament at precisely three points. It was against such a threat that he felt a guarantee was necessary. But who would be misinterpreting the Scriptures so that they denied that the Christ was Jesus, that the Christ must suffer and rise, and that there would be a general resurrection?[70]

Three facts point to the identification of these false interpreters of the Old Testament with Gnostics. In the first place, taken together these three points fit Gnosticism as well as any other one problem that Luke could have faced. An orthodox Jew would have denied that the Christ was Jesus and probably that the Christ would suffer,[71] but he would not have denied a general resurrection. In a post-70 A.D. period with Sadducean influence on the decline and Pharisaic influence on the increase, orthodox Jewish denial of resurrection is improbable.[72] Gnosis, however, would deny all three. Jesus the man could not be the Christ. The Christ is a spiritual being and could not suffer and rise. Since salvation is escape from the wretchedness of the body, there will be no resurrection. Gnosis offers an adequate explanation of these three points at issue. Could not, however,

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[70] There is evidence in Luke-Acts outside this motif that the problems of denial of the general resurrection and denial that the Christ is Jesus faced Luke. See Appendix II, pp. 320-21.

[71] Arguments on this point continue. For a summary statement of the various positions and the relevant literature, see Oscar Cullmann, The Christology of the New Testament, trans. Shirley C. Guthrie and Charles A. M. Hall (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), pp. 52-60.

[72] A Jewish Gnosis would have denied the general resurrection, however.

Hellenistic syncretism offer just as adequate an explanation? Two things may be said to this question. First, the centrality of the Old Testament in the debate indicates that we are dealing with either Jews or Christians. That it is a group of Christians is indicated by such passages as Luke 1:4 and Acts 20:29-30. Converted Greeks who had brought their heritage of Hellenistic syncretism, dominated by Stoicism, into the Church would certainly have trouble with a suffering Savior and with resurrection. But would they have trouble with the humanity of Jesus? Converted Greeks whose heritage was dominated by the mysteries would have no difficulty with a suffering Savior. It would seem, therefore, that Gnosis offers the best one explanation of these three points at issue.

In the second place, if the emphasis is upon any one of the three points under discussion, it is upon the second, that the Christ must suffer and rise. The disproportion of the number of references proves this. At the same time it should be noted that we have already met an instance of a denial of Jesus' passion and resurrection in Luke-Acts. This denial we found to be connected with Docetism. Since we have already seen that the witness motif and the present one overlap and are intertwined,[73] it seems probable that we should consider the failure to see and believe the Old Testament prophecy of the Christ's sufferings and resurrection as one with the docetic denial of Jesus' passion and resurrection that we met earlier in the witness motif. Moreover, if this misinterpretation of Scripture is attributed to a Gnostic cause, then it is probable that the other two points of misinterpretation should be also.

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[73] See pp. 238f.

In the third place, we know that in the Lucan milieu there existed such a Gnosis as we have inferred, a Gnosticism that based its teachings upon its interpretation of the Old Testament.[74] Two groups of writings reveal this to be the case. On the one hand, there are the Pastoral Epistles which most likely are to be dated near A.D. 100[75] and located at Ephesus or its environs.[76] The probability is that the

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[74] In the Clementine Homilies, II:22, it is said of Simon Magus: "He allegorizes the content of the Law in accordance with his own presuppositions." (R. M. Grant, Gnosticism [New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961], p. 26), cited hereafter as Gnos. Grant prefaces this account with a remark that this account may be more original than that of Irenaeus (p. 25). This is a fascinating reference in light of Acts 8. Proof of any connection, however, is lacking.

[75] Five major arguments have been used in an attempt to determine the date of the Pastorals. They are: (1) that the heresy combatted is akin to those of the second century, (2) that there are points of contact between the Pastorals and the Apostolic Fathers, (3) that the Pastorals were not included in the first collection of Paul's letters, (4) that the Church organization reflected in the Pastorals is less advanced than that in Ignatius' letters, (5) that the Pastorals contain genuine Pauline fragments and authentic reminiscences. How should these arguments be evaluated? First, the heresy combatted offers no help. The same type of error was probably combatted at Colossae not later than A.D. 65. Second, the supposed knowledge of the Pastorals by I Clement and Ignatius is worthless. In Polycarp one reference

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merits serious consideration, however. That is 4:1: "Love of money is the beginning of all troubles. So knowing that we brought nothing into the world, and can take nothing out of it either, let us . . . ." This seems to be an echo of I Tim. 6:10 and 6:7. The formula "knowing that" lends weight to the probability. (B. S. Easton, The Pastoral Epistles [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1947], pp. 3, 5). Cited hereafter as Past. Ep. This, of course, could refer to an oral teaching common to both sources. The balance of probabilities, therefore, must be decided on other grounds. Third, to argue for a late date for the Pastorals on the grounds that they were not included in the first collection of Paul's letters is precarious indeed. The best evidence for a collection of Paul's letters near A.D. 100 is Polycarp. The evidence furnished by Polycarp, however, is equally good for the inclusion of the Pastorals within that collection. Fourth, if the Pastorals are from Asia, then they certainly do reflect a less developed organization of the Church than that of Ignatius' time. The fact that there was no unilinear development, however, prevents a conclusive argument. Fifth, the existence of genuine fragments and reminiscences is possible though uncertain (Past. Ep., p. 16). What then is the outcome of our evaluation of arguments? In the first place, we must acknowledge that none of the arguments is conclusive either way. In the second place, since there is no necessity for a late date, that is, near A.D. 150, the balance of probabilities would seem to fall on the side of a date near A.D. 100. Arguments (2) and (4) have enough weight to tip the balance in this direction.

[76] The basic issue in regard to the locale of the Pastorals is between Ephesus or Asia and Rome. In favor of Rome five basic arguments have been offered. They are: (1) that Irenaeus, who is the earliest witness to the Pastorals, belonged to the Roman sphere of influence, (2) that the Muratorian Canon, the earliest orthodox New Testament to include the Pastorals, was Roman, (3) that the conflict of the Church with the sects seems to have been hottest in Rome where Cerdo, Marcion, and Valentinus were active, (4) that the regulative tone of the letters suggests the atmosphere of Rome, (5) that the feminism which was advancing in Asia would have been strongly repressed in Rome. How shall we respond to these arguments? First, there is widespread, though not unanimous opinion, that Polycarp knew the Pastorals. He was from Asia Minor. Irenaeus also had a close connection with Asia Minor. Second, Asia Minor was a hot bed of heresy long before A.D. 150. The similarity between the Colossian heresy

error referred to in all three of these letters is the same[77] and that it is Gnosticism.[78] These false teachers arose from within the Church (I Timothy 1:20; II Timothy 2:17-18). Professing to know God (Titus 1:16), they claimed their teaching was a Gnosis (I Timothy 6:20-21). They forbade marriage and certain foods (I Timothy 4:3) on a dualistic basis (I Timothy 4:3-4; Titus 1:15). Apparently they also had a docetic Christology (II Timothy 2:8; I Timothy 2:8; I Timothy 3:16; 2:16). Moreover, they denied the resurrection, or at least held it was already past (II Timothy 2:18). Possibly they advocated circumcision as an initiation rite

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and that reflected in the Pastorals is a strong argument for Asia Minor. Even Marcion was originally from Asia Minor. Third, a regulative spirit was not limited to Rome, as Ignatius' letters show. Fourth, I Cor. 11 and 14 show the same antifeminism that I Tim. 2:12 does. If the Pastorals are an attempt to use Pauline authority, there is no necessity to move outside the Aegean basin for repression of feminism. The arguments for Rome, therefore, are unconvincing. They actually point to Asia Minor. Moreover, the remarks in I Tim. 1:3, II Tim. 1:15, 18, and Tit. 1:5 suggest that the letters were written for the churches of the Aegean basin whose focus was in Asia, probably in Ephesus. II Tim. 4:19 tends to confirm this thesis. We will operate, therefore, from the probability that the Pastorals were written in Asia, probably Ephesus.

[77] Fred D. Gealy, "The First and Second Epistles to Timothy and the Epistle to Titus," *IB*, XI, 529. Cited hereafter as *IB*, XI.

[78] This is the general opinion of scholars. So Easton, *Past. Ep.*, pp. 3, 5; E. F. Scott, *The Pastoral Epistles* ("Moffatt New Testament Commentary"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, n.d.), p. xxix; Walter Lock, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Pastoral Epistles* ("International Critical Commentary"; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924), pp. 132-33; Kirsopp and Silva Lake, *op. cit.*, p. 155; Gealy, *IB*, XI, 531, 533.

(Titus 1:10; I Timothy 1:9f.). Their arguments were based upon their exegesis of the Old Testament (I Timothy 1:7; Titus 3:9). They preyed especially upon women (II Timothy 3:6-7). and imparted their teachings, which likely had astral overtones (I Timothy 4:1), to disciples in exchange for money (I Timothy 6:9-10; II Timothy 3:2). From the Pastorals, therefore, we get a picture of a Gnosis that is docetic and libertine, denying a future resurrection. Its teachers impart a Gnosis for money and prescribe circumcision as an initiation rite which is probably interpreted as a resurrection.[79] On what authority do they teach such doctrines? They appeal to the Old Testament and to their exegesis of Scripture, about which they argue fervently. The similarity between the Gnosis reflected in the Pastorals and that inferred from Luke-Acts is unmistakable.

On the other hand, the letters of Ignatius of Antioch, which date probably around A.D. 110[80] and reflect the situation in Asia Minor, furnish further confirmation. Though multiple heresies have been proposed,[81] the probability is that there is only one error against which Ignatius is warring[82] and that this error is a type of Gnosticism.[83] The false teachers against whom he writes seem to be both within and without the Church (Ephesians 6:2; 9:1; Philippians 7:2; and Ephesians 5:2-3; Smyrnaeans 4:1). They are Docetists (Ephesians 7:2; 18:2; 19:1-2; 20:2; Magnesians 9:1 and 11; Trallians 2:1; 9:1-2; Smyrnaeans 1:1-2 and 2, 3, and 5:2) denying the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus. Probably they also denied the resurrection of believers (Trallians 9:2; Magnesians 9:1; Ephesians 20:2). Because of their Docetism they did not come to Church (Ephesians 5:3; 13:1) nor partake of the Lord's supper (Ephesians 5:2; Philippians 4; Smyrnaeans 7:1) and did not respect the bishop (Trallians 7:2). Their dualism also came out in a lack of Christian conduct (Smyrnaeans 6:2). Their system was full of astral elements (Ephesians 17:1; 19:1; Trallians 4:2; 5:2 and 11; Philippians 6:2). Possibly they practiced magic (Ephesians 19:3). As the basis for their docetic teachings they appealed to the Old Testament. They would not believe a doctrine if they could not find it in the prophets (Philippians 8:2;

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[79] Does the circumcision problem of Acts have any relation to the heresy of the Pastorals? For a discussion of the problem, see Appendix II.

[80] John Lawson, A Theological and Historical Introduction to the Apostolic Fathers (New York: Macmillan Co., 1961), p. 103; Edgar J. Goodspeed, A History of Early Christian Literature (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. 20.

[81] Cyril Charles Richardson, The Theology of Ignatius of Antioch (New York: Columbia University Press, 1935), pp. 81-85; Virginia Corwin, St. Ignatius and Christianity in Antioch ("Yale Publications in Religion," I; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), pp. 52, 61.

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[82] J. B. Lightfoot, The Apostolic Fathers (2d ed.; London: Macmillan & Co., 1889), pp. 103, 242, 285; Bultmann, T. N. T., I, 171f.; Einar Molland, op. cit., 1-6; Grant, Gn. E. C., p. 178.

[83] Ibid.

5:1-6:1; 9:2; Magnesians 8:1-9:2; 10:3; Smyrnaeans 5:1; 7:2).[84] Here again we are face to face with a Gnosis which is docetic in nature and which appeals to Scripture as the authority for its tenets. Once again the similarity with the Gnosis we have deduced for Luke-Acts is striking.

For these three reasons, then, it seems likely that the persons who were misinterpreting the Old Testament in Luke's church or area were Gnostics, apparently the same group against which he fought in his witness motif. We may say, therefore, that when faced with a Gnostic misinterpretation of Scripture, Luke appealed to apostolic authority as a guarantee for the Church's exegesis of the Old Testament. Here again we find Luke-Acts functioning as an anti-Gnostic defense.

Let us now direct our attention to the third Lucan motif that we must examine. The third motif is concerned with the succession of tradition in Acts.

The Succession of Tradition

Elders in Pauline churches.--In Acts 20:17-35 we are given a speech of Paul to the Ephesian elders (πρεσβυτέρους). The concern of Paul in this address seems to be the prospect of the emergence of false teachers after his departure (20:29-30) who will attempt to lead the Christians astray. Faced with this prospect, the apostle appeals to the elders who have been made guardians (ἐπισκόπους) of the flock. They must be prepared for this disturbance (20:28, 31) and serve as the bulwark against the onslaughts of heresy (20:28). They must feed the Church of God (20:28). Their qualification for such a task is that they have been fully instructed by the apostle. Verse 20a reads: "I did not shrink from declaring to you anything that was profitable." Verse 27 has Paul say: "I did not shrink from declaring to you the whole counsel of God." In verse 31 he admonishes them to be alert, "remembering that for three years I did not cease night or day to admonish every one with tears." The elders have been fully taught. They have knowledge of everything that is profitable. They know the whole counsel of God. They have the apostolic tradition. It is noteworthy that this speech echoes the same emphasis that we have met earlier. The Church's proclamation is guaranteed because its teachers are fully instructed.

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[84] Molland, op. cit., pp. 4-6. This is a brilliant and convincing article. It is cited with approval by Grant (Gn. E. C., p. 178). The same position was taken earlier by M. H. Shepperd, Jr., "Smyrna in the Ignatian Letters: A Study in Church Order," JR, XX (1940), 144.

The question arises at this point as to just how the elders obtained their full and sufficient knowledge. The answer is obvious. They received the tradition from Paul. There is, therefore, a succession of tradition depicted here. It is a succession of tradition from the apostle Paul to the elders of the Ephesian Church. From Acts 14:23 we may assume that they had been appointed by Paul.[85] "And when they had appointed (χειροτονήσαντες) elders for them in every church, with prayer and fasting, they committed them to the Lord in whom they believed."[86] It is surely no coincidence that the chapter where Luke has his one reference to the appointment of elders by Paul and Barnabas should also be the place where the only two references to these missionaries as apostles should occur (14:4, 14).[87] The elders are appointed by the apostles. It would seem, therefore, that Luke intends the reader to see a succession of tradition from the apostles to the elders whom they appointed. This succession of tradition is a guarantee for the elders' doctrine in the post-apostolic period. That this is an expression of the Lucan mind seems insured by the fact that the material comes from a speech in

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[85] Easton, P. A., p. 26, says: "In modern terms, to Luke the proper polity of all local congregations is presbyterian. The elders are the successors of the apostles; they are the divinely appointed custodians of the apostolic tradition, and it is to the elders that all must turn for guidance."

[86] The general situation in the Aegean basin would be such at the end of the first century A.D. that Luke would feel no necessity to argue that there were elders appointed by the apostles. What no one questions, no one argues. This seems to me much more likely than the suggestion that so little is made of the appointment of elders because it was some of the elders who were the source of the difficulty which Luke had to fight. If it happened to be elders themselves who were the problem, then why should Luke choose the device he has to defend against the problem?

[87] It is possible that Luke intended the reader to understand the appointment of the elders as coming under the "fulfilled" of Acts 14:26. See I Clem. 42:5.

Acts.

Jerusalem control of missions.--When we view the overall structure of the book, it is impossible to deny that Jerusalem is central in the missionary enterprise of Acts.[88] In the first place, it is from Jerusalem that the universal preaching of the gospel is to begin (Luke 24:47; Acts 1:4, 8). In the second place, every new expansion of the Church in apostolic times had to receive the approval of Jerusalem. When Philip preached in Samaria, the people believed and were baptized (8:12). The next remark of Luke is highly instructive. "Now when the apostles at Jerusalem heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent to them Peter and John, who came down and prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Spirit (8:14-15)." When Peter preached the good news to Cornelius (Acts 10) and the centurion believed, his next stop was Jerusalem (Acts 11). There before the apostles (11:1-2) he received the stamp of approval for his efforts (11:18). When the scattered ones (8:1) went to Antioch and preached to Greeks, a great number believed (11:19-21). This, however, was not the end of the matter. "News of this came to the ears of the church in Jerusalem, and they sent Barnabas to Antioch (11:22)." Here again Jerusalem is found supervising the Church's missionary enterprise. The first missionary journey of Paul in Acts (Acts 13-14) is concluded with a trip to Jerusalem (Acts 15). "Paul and Barnabas and some of the others were appointed to go up to Jerusalem to the apostles and the elders about this question (15:2b)." There they received approval for their missionary enterprise (15:12ff.). It seems, therefore, that Jerusalem sanction is a must for every new missionary venture.

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[88] The centrality of Jerusalem in Acts is common knowledge. See Winn, "Elus. Mys.," p. 149, for a convenient summary.

In the third place, Paul's entire ministry is given a Jerusalem frame of reference. His conversion experience is authenticated by the apostles in Jerusalem (9:27ff.). His work at Antioch is undertaken at Barnabas' initiative (11:25f.). His missionary commission is given by a church which was a Jerusalem approved congregation (13:1-3). Each of his missionary journeys ends at Jerusalem (15:2; 18:22; 21:17). He recognizes the validity of and appeals to the witness of the Twelve (13:31). He refers difficult questions to Jerusalem (15:2), accepts Jerusalem decisions,[89] and appeals to Jerusalem authority (16:5). It would seem, therefore, that Jerusalem controls the mission enterprise in Acts. That a reading of Paul's letters does not lead one to regard early Christian missions in this way makes it clear that the centrality and control of Jerusalem in Acts as it relates to the mission of the Church is a reflection of the Lucan mind.[90]

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[89] See also Acts 21:23-26.

[90] John Knox, Chapters in a Life of Paul (New York: Abingdon Press, 1950), chap. II.

What does this Jerusalem control of missions mean? The meaning of this dominance of Jerusalem is closely connected with the fact that for Luke Jerusalem is the place where the twelve apostles reside. The Twelve are charged by Jesus not to depart from Jerusalem, but to wait for the promise of the Spirit (Acts 1:4). Acts 8:1b says that "on that day of great persecution arose against the church in Jerusalem; and they were all scattered throughout the region of Judea and Samaria, except the apostles." This last phrase, "except the apostles," is not intended to denote the particularism of the Twelve nor their Jewishness.[91] Rather it is part of Luke's over-all purpose which sees Jerusalem as the home of the apostles. In Acts 9:27 the apostles are still in Jerusalem. Here they acknowledge the conversion experience of Paul. Acts 11:1-2 finds the apostolic body still in Jerusalem. Here they approve the work of Peter. Acts 15:2, 4, again tells us that Jerusalem is the seat of the apostolic authority. It is to this apostolic authority of Jerusalem that the questions raised by Paul's first missionary journey are referred. In Acts 16:4 we are again told that the apostles reside at Jerusalem. Jerusalem, for Luke, is the home of the Twelve.

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[91] It has become a common practice to depreciate the Twelve as narrow, nationalistic, and lacking in vision because of this reference which has not been understood as part of Luke's theological geography. The statement of C. S. C. Williams (Acts, p. 114) is as typical as it is inaccurate. Luke, he claims, implies that the stricter Jewish-Christian apostles were not affected, as were the Hellenists, by persecution, as though the observance of Temple worship safeguarded the apostles.

Moreover, in Luke-Acts, the Twelve are those who accompanied Jesus from the beginnings of his ministry to his ascension (Acts 1:21-22). They are the Galileans, the eyewitnesses who have a sufficient knowledge of the gospel history and its meaning because they have been with Jesus and have heard and seen all things. Jerusalem control is control by the Twelve. Control by the Twelve, however, is control by the true facts of gospel history and the true interpretation of the Old Testament. The Church is controlled by the Word, therefore, the truth of which is guaranteed by the eyewitnesses. Luke has used a theological geography here in order to make his point. The point he has made is that the Church is controlled by the true tradition which the apostolic body guarantees.

Relation of the two devices.--We have just found in Acts two more guarantee devices. The question to which we now address ourselves concerns the relation of these two guarantee devices. Are they related in any way?

The first device which we examined in Acts 20 concerned a succession of tradition from Paul to the elders whom he had appointed (χειροτονήσαντες). The second dealt with the control of the Church's mission from its beginnings through the journeys of Paul and Barnabas. Since Jerusalem control is control by the true Word, the Jerusalem framework of Paul's life and work is a framework of authentic tradition. Paul's conversion is in line with the true Word (9:27f.). His teaching at Antioch is one with Jerusalem, eyewitness tradition (11:25f.). The missionary journeys all are within the framework of the Jerusalem, eyewitness tradition (15:2; 18:22; 21:17). His preaching appeals to the witness of the Twelve (13:31). Luke's aim is clearly to say that Paul's mission was an extension, if not a succession, of the mission of the Jerusalem Church.[92] This, however, in terms of Luke's theological geography, is to say that Paul's mission is an extension of the true and authentic tradition into the Gentile world. The parallels between the sermons of Peter and Paul serve the same function.

If the first device, that of Jerusalem control, is intended by Luke to show the extension of the authentic tradition into the Gentile world, the second functions to indicate the succession of the true Word from Paul to the post-apostolic Church in the Aegean basin. In this way Luke has established a succession of tradition which is intended to serve as a guarantee for the Church's proclamation and instruction in the post-apostolic period.

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[92] J. K. S. Reid, The Biblical Doctrine of the Ministry (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1955), pp. 13ff., says that Luke created the idea of apostolic succession but in such a way that Paul is not considered as an apostle but as a second link of the chain. It may very well be that the correct interpretation of Luke must speak of a succession of tradition not an apostolic succession. Was Luke concerned with our problems?

The object of the guarantee.--Why should Luke feel a necessity to construct so elaborate a guarantee for the post-apostolic Church? Against whom is such a guarantee needed? This guarantee motif leads straight to Acts 20 and the Ephesian elders who are fully instructed in the whole counsel of God so that they may be a bulwark against false teachers and teaching in the post-Pauline period. Who are these false teachers? From Acts 20 we learn only that they come both from outside (εἰσελεύσονται, 20:29) and from within (ἐξ ὑμῶν, 20:30) the Church, that they speak perverse things, and that they attempt to draw away disciples after them (20:30). Two facts, however, indicate that these errorists whom Paul fears should be regarded as Gnostics.

In the first place, examination of this guarantee motif, the succession of tradition, has repeatedly revealed its interrelation with the witness motif which we investigated earlier. The first part of Luke's picture of a succession of tradition dealt with control by Jerusalem. This control we saw to be control by the eyewitnesses. This fact points to the conclusion that both motifs are but two different aspects of the same appeal to apostolicity. If they are but two aspects of the one attempt to guarantee the true Word, then it is clear that they are attempting to defend against the same problem. Since it has been shown that the witness motif is concerned with the problem of Docetism, it is right for us to regard the false teachers of Acts 20 as Gnostics also.

In the second place, we must remember the connection between the errorists of Acts 20 and Revelation 2:2, 6, which past research has seen.[93] Since the errorists of Revelation are most likely Gnostics, the connection between the Ephesian heresy of Acts 20 and the Ephesian heresy of Revelation 2 points to the identification of the false teachers in Acts as Gnostics.

Conclusion

We have now treated three motifs in Luke-Acts, each of which functions as a "guarantee" for the true Word. It would be more accurate to speak of one guarantee in a threefold form. In each of these motifs we have gotten a glimpse of that against which Luke felt a guarantee was needed. The motif of authentic witness pointed to the fact that Luke was faced by some who denied the physical passion-resurrection-ascension. The motif of the true exegesis of Scripture indicated that Luke was faced by some who denied that the Old Testament spoke of the Christ being Jesus, of the Christ suffering and rising, and of a general resurrection. The motif of the succession of tradition in Acts spoke of false teachers arising in the post-apostolic period to draw away disciples after themselves. Just as the three motifs should be considered but three forms of the one guarantee of the true Word, that of apostolicity, so should these three indications of the problem facing Luke be considered but three echoes of the same disturbance. If this is so, then we find Luke face to face with false teachers whose teachings appeal to the Old Testament for their docetic content. Confronted with such a problem, Luke opposes the true Word of the elders who were fully instructed by the apostles, who in turn had a complete knowledge of all that Jesus did and taught.[94] This succession of the tradition of the eyewitnesses is the guarantee of the truth of the Church's proclamation in the midst of Gnostic distortions of the gospel.[95]

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[93] See pp. 192-93.

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[94] In this light we may hope to interpret the ambiguities of Lk. 1:1-4. Our investigation leads to the conclusion that Theophilus must be considered as representative of Christians who have already been instructed but who are now disturbed by false teachers and teachings. They need certainty for the true tradition. This Luke attempts to furnish with his motif of apostolicity.

[95] The Church's tradition is apostolic, one, and universal. It is apostolic as we can see from the three motifs examined above. That it is one, the parallels between Peter and Paul which encompass their preaching show. These parallels accent the oneness of Christian preaching. That it is universal, we may see from Luke's play upon the two foci of Jerusalem and Rome. Moreover, when the Church lives by this one apostolic tradition, she is holy. That this is so may be seen from the parallelism between the

The foregoing analysis of the Lucan tendency in terms of three Lucan guarantee motifs has given coherence not only to most of the random observations of past research mentioned above but also to the whole of Luke-Acts. Because of this fact, the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim must be regarded as probable.

The Argument from Comparison

It is now necessary to move to our second argument, the argument from comparison. This argument is concerned about the question of whether or not the Lucan tendency which we have just depicted has any affinity with the larger churchly polemic against Gnosis near A.D. 100. In particular, we are concerned with the relation between Luke-Acts and two groups of writings, the Pastorals on the one hand, and the Johannine Gospel and I John on the other.[96] Does their way

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events in the Third Gospel and in Acts. When the Church follows Jesus, she is holy. In the Lucan literature, therefore, there is certainly a strong Catholic tendency. The statement of Juelicher is certainly true: "nicht Paulus wird judaisirt, nicht Petrus paulinisirt, sondern Paulus und Petrus lucanisirt d.h. katholisirt." Luke-Acts is a representative of early Catholicism. See Appendix II for further indications of this.

[96] Why limit the investigation to these writings? The limitation is due to the purpose of the examination. The purpose of this argument is not to give the position of Luke-Acts' defense against Gnosis in relation to the whole churchly polemic of or near its time. This would be another thesis in itself. It does not come within the scope of the present work. The purpose of the present argument is rather to give credence to the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim. Selection is dictated by this purpose. To include more

of dealing with Gnosis, when compared with the tendency of Luke-Acts, tend to confirm or to undermine the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim? The question that we must put to each of these two groups is, what means does each use to deal with the Gnostic problem with which each is confronted. Let us begin with the Johannine documents.

Two Johannine Documents

The Fourth Gospel[97].--How does the Fourth Gospel respond to Gnosticism? The Gospel of John has a double-sided relation to Gnosis.[98] On the one hand, the Fourth Gospel is a Gnostic Gospel.[99] Its world view, like that of Gnosis is a dualism of light-darkness (1:5; 3:19-21), spirit-flesh (3:6; 6:63), truth-falsehood (8:39-47) which is reflected in a distinction between two kinds of men (1:13 and

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writings would make the argument cumbersome without adding anything to its weight. These writings were chosen from others because of the strength they give the argument.

[97] The date of the Fourth Gospel is generally placed near A.D. 100 because of P52. See C. H. Roberts (ed.), An Unpublished Fragment of the Fourth Gospel (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935), p. 25.

[98] E. F. Scott, The Fourth Gospel: Its Purpose and Theology (2d ed.; "The Literature of the New Testament"; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), p. 90. Cited hereafter as Fourth Gospel. This doublesidedness is reflected in two different responses to the Fourth Gospel in the early Church. Some said that the Gospel was written by Cerinthus. Others said it was written against Cerinthus. See R. M. Grant, "The Origin of the Fourth Gospel," JBL, LXIX (1950), 305-22.

[99] G. H. C. Macgregor, The Gospel of John ("Moffatt New Testament Commentary"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1928), p. xxxii. Cited hereafter as John.

8:44; 17:16; 8:23).[100] The entire gospel story is cast into the form of the descent of a redeemer from the world of light to reveal to men the truth about the unknown God (1:18). Having imparted this knowledge, he ascends into heaven and draws to him those who believe (12:32; 3:14-15).[101] Even the eschatology has been shifted so that the emphasis is upon a present resurrection to life. This is most adequately seen as accomodation to Gnostic ideas which regarded enlightenment as a resurrection.[102] We may say, therefore, that John makes a positive approach to Gnosticism by recasting the gospel tradition in a Gnostic idiom.[103]

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[100] Bultmann, *T. N. T.*, II, 11, 17; Macgregor, John, p. xxxiii; Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 96.

[101] Grant, *Gn. E. C.*, pp. 173-74; Bultmann, *T. N. T.*, II, 6, 12. This is true whether one subscribes to a pre-Christian Gnostic redeemer myth or not.

[102] Grant, "Ear. Ch. G.," pp. 93-94.

[103] Barrett, *L. H. R. S.*, p. 62. W. F. Albright has argued against a Gnostic background for the Fourth Gospel in the light of the Qumran discoveries. See "The Bible after Twenty Years of Archeology (1932-1952)," *RL*, XXI (1952), 549-50; "Recent Discoveries in Palestine and the Gospel of St. John," *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, ed. W. D. Davies and D. Daube (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), pp. 153-71; "Bultmann's History and Eschatology," *JBL*, LXXVII (1958), 247. The same position is shared by Lucetta Mowry, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Gospel of John," *BA*, XVII (1954), 78-97. This position has been answered by Howard M. Teeple, "Qumran and the Origin of the Fourth Gospel," *NT*, IV (1960), 6-25. Teeple insists that all the parallels, except three, could have been suggested by the Septuagint. The major error that I see in the trend to explain the Fourth Gospel by Qumran parallels is the same error that is seen in the attempt to explain the Gospel by Mandaean or Hermetic parallels. It is the failure to see each of these bodies of literature as an outcropping of the wider syncretistic movement of the Hellenistic age. For a correct

On the other hand, however, the Fourth Gospel is an anti-Gnostic Gospel.[104] The dualism of John is an ethical instead of a Gnostic-ontological one.[105] That the redeemer is also the creator insures this fact (1:3; 1:10). The Gospel emphasizes the redeemer's real incarnation (1:14), his truly human life (4:6; 4:7; 19:28), his physical body (19:34) and death, and his physical existence after the resurrection (20:20; 20:27).[106] The few futuristic eschatological references may be explained as one more expression of the Evangelist's refusal to accept the world view of Gnosticism at those points where his Christian heritage was basically in opposition to the Christian tradition.[107] Moreover, the absence of Simon of Cyrene,[108] of angels and demons,[109] of the nouns "pistis," "gnosis," and "sophia,"[110] and of contempt for the Old Testament,[111] have

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perspective which sees each body of literature as an expression of the general development of Hellenistic Religious thought, see C. H. Kraeling, "The Fourth Gospel and Contemporary Religious Thought," *JBL*, XLIX (1930), 140-49.

[104] Macgregor, *John*, p. xxxiv.

[105] Bultmann, *T. N. T.*, II, 17; Grant, *Gn. E. C.*, p. 172.

[106] Macgregor, *John*, p. xxxiv; Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 91.

[107] This eliminates the necessity for an orthodox churchly editor who added the future elements to John's radical recasting of eschatology.

[108] Wilbert F. Howard, "The Gospel according to John," *IB*, VIII, 452. Cited hereafter as *IB*, VIII.

[109] Howard, *IB*, VIII, 452. Macgregor, *John*, p. xxxiv; Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 91. No marked presence of astral elements has to be discernible in a Gospel for it to be considered anti-Gnostic, therefore. The very absence may be considered part of the defense against Gnosis.

[110] Howard, *IB*, VIII, 452; Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 93.

[111] Macgregor, *John*, p. xxxiv; Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 92.

been regarded as due to John's anti-Gnostic aim. Also, throughout the Gospel there is a definite motif of witness which is designed to guarantee the truth of the Church's proclamation.[112] It will be instructive if we give closer attention to this last mentioned fact.

The Fourth Gospel is structured in two halves: (1) the revelation to the world, (2) the revelation to the disciples.[113] In the first section, the author's theme may be described as follows. God so loved the world that he sent his Son into the world (3:16). The Son declared to the world what he heard from the unknown Father (8:26; 1:18; 2:51; 3:32). He did this by means of his words and his works. The response of the world was negative. They did not believe when they saw his signs (12:37; 15:24) or when they heard his words (8:37; 10:25; 8:45-46). The disciples, however, believed because of his signs which they saw (2:11) and his words which they heard (6:68; 16:30). John 17:25 states it succinctly. "O righteous Father, the world has not known thee, but I have known thee; and these know that thou hast sent me."

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[112] The post-apostolic period was dominated by the appeal to apostolicity. This appeal could take various forms. One of the forms which it took was the appeal to the guarantee given by an eyewitness (Luke-Acts, I John, the Fourth Gospel, II Peter). In each of the documents where we find such an appeal, we find the witness motif taking the form which is appropriate to the particular idiom and literary type of the writer. This means that we would expect some sort of appeal to apostolicity in the Fourth Gospel. We are not surprised that it takes the form of appeal to an eyewitness. We should expect, however, the witness motif to partake of certain Johannine peculiarities due to the Johannine idiom. Eric L. Titus, "The Identity of the Beloved Disciple," JBL, LXIX (1950), 323-28, has seen the similarity between the Lucan and Johannine witness motifs.

[113] Rudolf Bultmann, Das Evangelium des Johannes ("Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar ueber das Neue Testament,"; 16. Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1959).

In the second half of the Gospel, the author's theme may be elaborated in the following way. First, all that the Son heard from the Father he made known to the chosen disciples (15:15; 17:14). These chosen ones "kept" (τετήρηκαν)[114] the word Jesus gave them (17:6) just as Jesus had "kept" the word with which God had entrusted him (8:55). These chosen disciples who are sent by Jesus as he was sent by God (20:21) are the guardians of the word of Jesus. Moreover, they are given the Holy Spirit (20:22) who teaches them the meaning of all things (14:26) and brings to their remembrance all that Jesus said to them (14:26). The Spirit, however, does not speak contrary to what Jesus has said, but only declares Jesus' word (16:14-15). The chosen ones, therefore, have both the true word of Jesus' teaching and the true interpretation of it.

Second, the chosen ones have been with Jesus from the beginning (15:27; 16:4) and, therefore, are witnesses to the events of his career (15:27). "And you also are witnesses, because you have been with me from the beginning." Moreover, chapters 13-21 definitely play up the witness theme. Certain disciples are with Jesus at all the crucial events surrounding his passion-resurrection. In 13:23 the beloved disciple hears the prediction of Jesus' betrayal. In 18:15 "another disciple" is present when Jesus is brought before Annas.[115] In 19:26 the disciple whom Jesus loved sees him crucified and is addressed by Jesus from the cross. In 19:34-35, a witness, presumably the beloved disciple,[116] sees Jesus' side pierced with a spear. Assurance is given that his testimony is true. In 20:2-9 the beloved disciple, together with Peter, sees the empty tomb. This witness saw and believed (20:8). In 20:19-20, the disciples, among whom is presumably the beloved disciple,[117] have Jesus come to them, showing to them his hands and his side. In 20:24-28, the disciples again have Jesus come and stand among them and convince

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[114] Bauer, Lexicon, p. 822, indicates that τηρέω can easily be used to mean "guard" or "preserve."

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[115] In each of the Synoptics (Mk. 14:66; Lk. 22:54-55; Mt. 26:69) a distinction is made between the place where Peter is and the place where Jesus is being examined. Peter is in the αὐλή while Jesus is in the οἰκία. In the Fourth Gospel, however, this distinction is erased. The ἄλλος μαθητής (18:15) came with Jesus into the courtyard (αὐλή; Bauer, *Lexicon*, p. 120). If one reads only John, however, he would think that the examination of Jesus also took place in the courtyard. The obvious reason for this is to insure the presence of the witness at the trial.

[116] Because of the similarity between 19:35 and 21:24.

[117] In 20:19-20 the beloved disciple is presumably present because he was with the disciples in John 13 at the supper.

Thomas of the resurrection. Here again, presumably the beloved disciple is present.[118] In 21:7, 20,[119] Jesus appears the third time to the disciples. This time the beloved disciple is explicitly present. Finally the Gospel closes with the remark (21:24) that the beloved disciple is one who bears witness to these things and who has written these things. Assurance is then given as to the truth of his testimony. The events of the passion-resurrection are, therefore, rendered secure because the eyewitnesses were present, saw, and bear witness. Moreover, the close conjunction of the witness of the disciples who have been with Jesus from the beginning and the witness of the Holy Spirit to Jesus in 15:26-27 would seem to indicate that John understood the witness of the Holy Spirit to Jesus to be in harmony with and never at variance with the testimony of the eyewitnesses.[120]

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[118] For the same reason cited in n. 117.

[119] It is generally agreed today that chap. 21 is an appendix to the Fourth Gospel. See Moffatt, Intro., pp. 570-80; Howard, IB, VIII, 446, 802. A recent denial of the concensus is that of Bishop Cassian, "John xxi," NTS, III, (1957), 132-36. That chap. 21 is an appendix in no way denies our claims. In fact, it enhances our claims if chap. 21 is an appendix added by the same hands that added the gloss of 19:35. For what purpose was this chapter added? No better suggestion has been offered than that of E. F. Scott (Fourth Gospel, p. 104). He says, "One purpose of the epilogue . . . is undoubtedly to present the Gospel . . . with some kind of official sanction." It is part of the appeal to apostolicity in the post apostolic period.

[120] I Jn. 5:6-8 speaks of three witnesses, the Spirit, the water, and the blood, which agree. Various attempts have been made to explain this passage. One possibility would interpret it in terms of the Gnostic problem faced. I Jn. is

The theme of the second half of the Gospel, then, includes the assertion that Jesus' own have the true word that Jesus spoke with its authentic interpretation given by the Holy Spirit on the one side, and the true account of the events of the redeemer's life with which the witness of the Holy Spirit agrees on the other. This motif is clearly a guarantee device, an appeal to apostolicity.

The witness, moreover, is explicitly present at strategic points of the redeemer's career, like his passion-resurrection. Always two elements are combined. On the one hand, the event is described realistically so that there can be no mistaking its materiality.[121] On the other hand, the event described realistically is seen by the witness who guarantees its reality. This is probably clearest at 19:34-35 where we hear first: "But one of the soldiers pierced his side with a spear, and at once there came out

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faced with Gnostics who deny that Christ has come in the flesh. Their denial is voiced while they are "in the Spirit" (4:1-2). They are playing off one of the post-ascension witnesses against the other, the Spirit against the apostles. Jn. 19:34-35 has an eyewitness present to see the blood and water come from Jesus' side. His testimony is to the effect that the Christ has come in the flesh. I Jn. 5:8, then, is saying the same thing as I Jn. 4:2-3. The Spirit of God's witness is to Jesus, to the water and the blood, to the humanity of the Christ. The Spirit and the eyewitnesses agree in their testimony.

[121] This emphasis upon Jesus' materiality, however, certainly does not deny the opposite emphasis in John. We must always expect the two extremes to be held together in the Fourth Gospel's thought. This, of course, is because the Gospel is both Gnostic and anti-Gnostic.

blood and water." Then we are told: "He who saw it has borne witness--his testimony is true, and he knows that he tells the truth--that you also may believe." They are present also, however, in the narrative of the crucifixion (19:17-30). The conversation between the crucified one, his mother, and the beloved disciple (19:26-27) insures the identity of the one who was born and lived with the disciples with the one who hangs upon the cross. The pre-passion redeemer is the crucified one. The same two elements are present in 20:2-10, the story of the empty tomb. Not only are the witnesses present, but also the tomb is empty. The verses about the grave clothes (20:5-7) give a guarantee that the absence of the body of Jesus is not due to some human violation of the tomb. In 20:19-23, the first appearance of the risen Lord to his disciples, "he showed them his hands and his side." Here is proof of his physical reality.[122] This, however, is not strong enough for John. Thomas declares he will not believe unless "I see in his hands the print of the nails, and place my finger in the mark of the nails, and place my hand in his side (20:25)." So 20:26-29 functions to satisfy this kind of sceptism. Jesus appears and says to Thomas, "Put your finger here, and see my hands; and put out your hand, and place it in my side." Thomas is convinced of the physical reality of the risen Lord.[123] It is this characteristic that leads scholars to view the Fourth Gospel as anti-docetic at this point.[124] The witness motif in John functions to guarantee the physical reality of the passion-resurrection against Gnostic denials. It is clear, then, that the Fourth Gospel is an anti-Gnostic Gospel.

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[122] This is not negated by the fact that he came through a closed door any more than the realism of Lk. 24 is negated by the same type of behavior. (See Lk. 24:31, 36-37) Nor can Jn. 20:29 be used as an argument against the physical reality of the risen Lord. If the Fourth Gospel is bothered by Gnosis, Thomas serves as a typical sceptic. He is convinced by seeing. Then comes vs. 29b: "Blessed are those who have not seen and yet believe." Believe what? From the Thomas incident we gather the content of belief is the physical reality of the risen Lord. In 20:31 the content of belief is "that Jesus is the Son of God." In a Gnostic context such a statement could only mean that the Redeemer was the man Jesus. Belief is in the humanity of the Savior and in the physical reality of his resurrection. Blessed are those who can believe this without tangible proof such as Thomas had.

How then does the Fourth Gospel deal with the Gnostic problem? In the first place, we have seen that the Evangelist accepts the world view of Gnosis except at points where it definitely contradicts the Christian heritage, that is, creation, Incarnation, and resurrection. In this way he showed how one could live as a "modern man" in the Greco-Roman would near A.D. 100 and still be a Christian.

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[123] The Fourth Gospel's emphasis upon the physical reality of the risen Lord cannot be negated by saying that there is no record that Thomas did touch him any more than Lk.'s emphasis can be denied because there is no record that the disciples handled him.

[124] J. H. Bernard, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to John, II, ed. A. H. McNeile ("International Critical Commentary"; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929), p. 647; Howard, IB, VIII, 787; Macgregor, John, p. 361.

In the second place, we have seen that the Evangelist defends the Christian tradition at the points he considers crucial. He does this by the use of two closely related motifs. First, he emphasizes the materiality of Jesus' death and resurrection.[125] He does this by the way he describes the events. Second, he gives a guarantee for the reality of the events by means of a witness motif. The combination of these two motifs forms John's strongest defense against Gnosis.

The First Epistle of John.[126]--How does the Epistle respond to Gnosis? The same double-sidedness of relation is evident in the Epistle as in the Gospel. The idiom is the same but the terminology does not have a Gnostic content any more than it does in the Gospel.[127] The Epistle's defense against Gnostic heresy can best be understood if we conceive of a chronological time line on which there are three fixed points: (1) the Christ-event witnessed by the apostles, (2) the initiation of the Christians to whom John writes into the Christian Church, and (3) the problem posed by the existence of false teachers. The last mentioned point is the present in which the letter is penned. John and the Christians to whom he writes are confronted by a Gnosticism which is both docetic (4:1-3) and libertine (2:4) in theory and practice. John's way of dealing with these errorists is by means of an appeal to the past. He points to the other two fixed spots on our time line.

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[125] Again we must say that this does not exclude the other emphasis. The tension between two almost opposite poles is characteristic of the Fourth Gospel.

[126] A date for I Jn. near A.D. 100 is insured by the evidence furnished by Polycarp's letter to the Philippians 7:1-2. It is difficult to deny that this passage reflects I Jn. 4:1-2, 3:8, 2:24 (C. H. Dodd, The Johannine Epistles ["Moffatt New Testament Commentary"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1946], p. xi). Cited hereafter as Joh. Ep. The authorship of I John is still very much an open question. For our purposes, the critical point is whether or not the epistle has the same author as the Fourth Gospel. Two things may be said in this regard. On the one hand, the differences between the two writings do not permit a confident conclusion that they possess a common author. C. H. Dodd admirably summarizes the evidence against the common authorship ("The First Epistle of John and the Fourth Gospel," BJRL, XXI [1937], 129-56). The reply of W. F. Howard reaffirming the common authorship is indecisive ("The Common Authorship of the Johannine Gospel and Epistles," JTS, XLVIII [1947], 12-25; "Appendix B," in The Fourth Gospel in Recent Criticism and Interpretation [4th ed. rev.; London: Epworth Press, 1955], pp. 276-96). The issue remains moot. On the other hand, if different authors are posited, the remarkable similarities between I John and the Fourth Gospel require some explanation. The hypothesis of a "Johannine school" fits

On the one hand, he appeals to Christian initiation. The beginning of the Christian life is associated with an "anointing" (2:7, 24; 3:11). This anointing is probably the gospel tradition, that is, instruction connected with

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the facts admirably. It allows for both the differences and the similarities between the documents. This, in turn, legitimates a cautious relating of the two documents in the exegetical task. For our purposes, this is all that is necessary.

[127] Ernst Haenchen, "Neuere Literatur zu den Johannesbriefen," TR, XXVI (1960), 28.

baptism.[128] It is composed both of Christology and ethics. The Christological content of this instruction that John accents is the affirmation that Jesus is the Christ (2:20-22; 3:23). The ethical content of the anointing that is emphasized is the affirmation that God is light and therefore Christians must walk in the light, that is, in love (2:7ff.; 3:11ff.). If the Christians will be faithful to their Christian initiation they will not fall victim to the Gnosis threatening them.

On the other hand, John appeals to the testimony of the eyewitnesses. This testimony consists of both what the eyewitnesses heard (1:5) and what they saw (4:14-15). What they heard comprises their ethical message. God is light, so walk in the light (1:5ff.). What they saw comprises their Christological message. God sent his Son. This Son is Jesus (5:1; 5:5; 4:14-15). What they saw and heard together make up the "word of life" (1:1-4). If the Christians are faithful to the testimony of the eyewitnesses they will not be overcome by the teachings of the Gnostic antichrists.

These two points on our time line, it will be observed, are one in their content, Christologically and ethically. Taken together, they serve as the author's basis of appeal. Appeal to the tradition of the eyewitnesses which these Christians came to know fully at the time of their Christian initiation and of which they are now reminded furnishes the ammunition for John's anti-Gnostic polemic.

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[128] Dodd, Joh. Ep., pp. 58-64.

How does this anti-Gnostic defense of I John compare with that of the Fourth Gospel? The first thing that is evident is that there is a basic similarity between the two responses. Both the Gospel and the Epistle appeal to the testimony of eyewitnesses as a guarantee of the true content of the gospel tradition. Beyond this, however, we become aware of differences. First, the Epistle neither gives a description of the events nor the content of the words that its author seeks to guarantee. The Epistle assumes the readers' knowledge of the tradition. The words that it uses in the preface (1:1-4), however, do attempt to accent the materiality of the events which the eyewitnesses witnessed. The realism of ἑωράκαμεν, ἀκηκόαμεν, and ἐθεασάμεθα, is both insured and surpassed by that of ἐψηλάφησαν.[129] The redeemer was physical enough to be touched. The former fact, that I John assumes the readers' knowledge of the gospel tradition, is due to its author's use of the epistle form for his communication.[130] The latter fact, that he used certain words to insure the materiality of the events witnessed, therefore, reveals the author's attempt to combine the two elements, witness and realistic description, as far as his literary form would permit him to do so. In this there is agreement with the Fourth Gospel. Second, the Gospel does not have an explicit appeal to the anointing at Christian initiation as does the Epistle. This again is due to the literary form employed and the limitations imposed by that fact.[131] Granted the differences due to the literary form employed, the means used by both the Fourth Gospel and I John show a remarkable similarity. Both appeal to the testimony of the eyewitnesses for the materiality of the Christ event.

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[129] Compare Lk. 24:39.

[130] Williams, "Gos. Ep. Rel.," pp. 213-14.

Comparison with Luke-Acts.--How does the approach of the Johannine writings discussed above compare with the response of Luke-Acts to Gnosis? We must notice both the similarity and the difference in their approaches. How is the Lucan response to Gnosticism different from that of John? Luke does not make a positive approach to Gnosis as John does. Luke avoids Gnostic idiom and the Gnostic world view as much as possible.[132] Aside from the inevitable differences due to the various literary forms employed, to which we called attention above, this is the basic difference between the response of Luke-Acts and that of John. How are the means used by Luke and John to combat Gnosis similar? The similarity exists in the use of two closely related devices. On the one hand, both employ a witness motif intended to guarantee the gospel tradition at the point of its origin.[133] On the other hand, they both utilize ways of accenting the materiality of the Christ event in its totality or in some of its specific parts. Combining these two devices, both have eyewitnesses guaranteeing the physical reality of the redeemer and his career. This seems, therefore, to have been an accepted way of dealing with Docetism near A.D. 100. It must be said, therefore, that a comparison of the tendency of Luke-Acts, at which we arrive in the first argument of this chapter, with the anti-Gnostic argument of the Johannine Gospel and I John offers striking confirmation for the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim. Can the same be said for the Pastorals? It is to this group of letters that we now turn.

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[131] This seems to be a much better explanation than the theory that the sacraments were omitted from the Fourth Gospel because of the narrow line between sacramentalism and magic. The sacraments are present in allusions throughout the Gospel. If the Evangelist wanted to omit them altogether because of misuse, why the allusions? Omission of direct reference and the presence of sacramental allusions, however, is adequately explained by the literary type employed.

[132] Barrett, L. H. R. S., p. 63.

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[133] There are several other obvious similarities between the Fourth Gospel and Luke-Acts. First, both have a distinct emphasis upon the unity of the Church (Jn. 17:22-23; the parallels between Peter and Paul in Acts). Second, both have a positive relation to the Old Testament. The Old Testament is regarded as a witness to Christ (Jn. 5:39-47; the Lucan motif of Christian exegesis). Third, both see Christian ethics as the disciple's following Jesus (Jn. 13:34-36; the parallel between the sequence of Lk. and the sequence of Acts which indicates that the Church walks the way her Lord did). Fourth, the understanding of salvation as a deliverance from blindness or ignorance to light and knowledge (Jn. 9; Acts 17:30, 26:18).

The Pastoral Epistles

A guarantee for orthodoxy.--How do the Pastoral Epistles deal with the Gnostic threat with which they are faced? The author of the Pastorals is primarily concerned with the administration of Church life which is in the hands of the apostolic assistants and the elders. His view of the situation is that all will be set right if the deposit of truth is safe-guarded. This deposit was entrusted to the apostle Paul (II Timothy 1:12). He in turn gave the deposit to Timothy (II Timothy 1:13; 3:14) who is to guard it (II Timothy 1:14) and to continue in it (II Timothy 3:14). Moreover, Timothy is to entrust to faithful men, who in turn will be able to instruct others, that which he has heard from Paul publicly (II Timothy 2:2). These men must also hold firm to the word they are taught and must both give instruction in sound doctrine and also confute those who contradict it (Titus 1:9). This is the reason that such care must be taken with regard to the appointing of elders (I Timothy 3:1-7; 5:22; Titus 1:6-9) and deacons (I Timothy 3:8-13).

The author of the Pastorals, therefore, is not so much concerned that he himself refute the Gnostics as he is that the sound doctrine, by which the opponents are confounded, be both well preserved and widely preached by those in places of responsibility, that is, by those who are the successors of the apostles, the elders. This means that the sound doctrine is assumed, not proclaimed in the Pastorals. The Pastorals go little farther than to assert that apostolicity is the norm for sound doctrine. Apostolicity, moreover, means for the author, the possession and preservation of the apostolic tradition, the tradition of Paul. Apostolicity is conceived in terms of a succession of tradition from the apostle (II Timothy 1:11-12) through Timothy (II Timothy 1:13-14) to the elders (II Timothy 2:2; I Timothy 5:17; Titus 1:9). This apostolic tradition, moreover, is public (II Timothy 2:2). Such a succession of a public tradition guarantees the preservation of the true tradition[134] for the Church by which she may defend herself against error.

Comparison with Johannine writings.--How does the defense against Gnosis which we have found in the Pastorals compare with that in the two Johannine documents which we examined previously? The similarity between the defense against Gnosis in the two groups of writings consists in the appeal of both to apostolicity. The apostolic tradition is the guarantee for true teaching. This point of similarity, however, leads at once to a marked difference in their application of the principle. On the one hand, the Johannine writings' appeal to apostolicity consists of the employment of a witness motif in which eyewitnesses are present at strategic events in the career of Jesus to view them and to guarantee their materiality. There is no hint of a succession of the tradition from the eyewitnesses to successors, however. The line of tradition in the Johannine writings runs from God to Jesus to the witnesses to the writing of the Gospel and the Epistle (John 24:24; 17:20). On the other hand, the Pastorals' appeal to apostolicity consists of a succession of tradition which runs from Paul to Timothy to the elders. There is no appeal to the presence of the eyewitnesses to guarantee the materiality of the Christ event.[135] We can see, therefore, how the Church utilized the motif of apostolicity as a defense against the errors of Gnosticism in two different ways. The two different applications of the same principle possibly corresponded to different needs. If the need was felt to be to guarantee the tradition at its source, then the appeal would be to the eyewitnesses. If the need was felt to be to guarantee the continuity of the tradition in the post-apostolic period with its origins in the apostolic period, then the appeal would be to a succession of tradition.

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[134] Bultmann, T. N. T., II, 119, suggests that the Pastorals' use of παραθήκη instead of παράδοσις may be due to Gnostic misuse of the latter term.

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[135] Unless I Tim. 2:6, the "testimony to which was borne at the proper time," refers to the eyewitnesses.

Comparison with Luke-Acts.--How do the means used by the Pastorals to protect the Church against Gnosis compare with the tendency of Luke-Acts which we portrayed in the first argument of this chapter? The points of unlikeness are of two varieties. First there is a difference due to the employment of different literary forms. The Pastorals assume rather than present the gospel tradition because they are Epistles instead of Gospels.[136] Second, there is a difference due to a basic difference in aim. The Lucan literature, like the Johannine writings, is concerned with the eyewitnesses who guarantee the materiality of the Christ event. This device the Pastorals do not have. Yet the points of likeness are striking. When the Pastorals, in contrast to the Johannine documents, speak of a succession of tradition from the apostle Paul to the elders, they are at one with Luke-Acts. Luke-Acts has a clear and distinct motif of the extension and then the succession of the tradition from the apostles to the elders, who are thereby the possessors of the full gospel and the guardians of the Church against false teachers and their errors. Luke-Acts and the Pastorals both appeal to a succession of apostolic tradition against the Gnostics. It is as though Acts is a narrative presentation of the succession which in the Pastorals is given in demonstrative statements, and that Luke and the speeches of Acts give the content of the true deposit of tradition of which the Pastorals speak but assume. In light of this fact, therefore, it must be said that a comparison of the tendency of Luke-Acts with the response of the Pastorals to Gnosticism offers confirmation for the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim.

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[136] Williams, "Gos. Ep. Rel.," pp. 213-14.

Conclusion to Argument Two

The present argument has been concerned with the question of whether or not the tendency of Luke-Acts which we presented in our first argument has any affinity with the larger churchly polemic and defense against Gnosticism near A.D. 100. We have concerned ourselves with two groups of writings, the Pastorals on the one side, and the Johannine Gospel and I John on the other. What have we discovered? We have found that the Johannine writings and the Pastorals give expression to the same principle of apostolicity in different ways. On the one hand, the Johannine literature appeals to the testimony of the eyewitnesses which guarantees the materiality of the Christ event. On the other hand, the Pastorals appeal to a succession of tradition which guarantees the continuity of the word of the elders with its apostolic origin. We have found, moreover, that Luke-Acts has both an appeal to the eyewitnesses' guarantee of the materiality of Jesus' passion-resurrection-ascension and also an appeal to the succession of the apostolic tradition from the apostle Paul to the elders of the Pauline churches. Luke-Acts' tendency is a combination of the basic arguments of the Johannine and Pastoral defense against Gnosis near A.D. 100. In light of this fact we may answer that Luke-Acts does have a striking affinity with the larger churchly polemic against Gnosticism near its own time. There can be no doubt then that the comparison of the Lucan tendency which we presented in Argument One of this chapter with the larger churchly polemic against Gnosticism confirms the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have concerned ourselves with two questions: (1) Is there anything in the Lucan literature that would indicate that Luke was confronted by a Gnostic problem? (2) Is there anything in the general anti-Gnostic movement near A.D. 100 which, when compared with the Lucan tendency, would indicate that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim? The answer to the first question became our argument from coherence. The answer to the second question became our argument from comparison. The evidence from both of these arguments has coalesced to give moral certainty to the thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic purpose.

The real question then is not whether Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic aim or not, for this thesis possesses as high a degree of probability as any such historical reconstruction can, but rather whether the anti-Gnostic purpose is the sole aim of the author or whether it is only one of several such aims. Caution forbids the categorical denial of other Lucan aims. The comprehensiveness of this thesis, however, coupled with the inadequacy of other proposals leaves no alternative for us but to assert that the major purpose of Luke is his defense against Gnosticism.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this thesis will consist of two parts: (1) a summary statement about the purpose of Luke-Acts as we have described it in this thesis, (2) a series of questions for further study which have emerged as a by-product of the present work. We will take them in this order.

A Summary Statement

The two-volume work, Luke-Acts, emerges from the Christianity of the Aegean basin in the last quarter of the first century with a definite theological intent. The Church of that area is being disturbed by a Gnostic problem. This Gnosis denies the union of flesh and spirit and reads its errors into its interpretation of the Old Testament. It may be regarded, therefore, as a Jewish-Christian Gnosticism akin to that reflected in the letters of Ignatius and possibly identical with that reflected in the Pastorals. In response to this challenge, the author of Luke-Acts, whose identity is irrelevant for our purposes, appeals to apostolic authority as a guarantee for the Church's message. The apostles were eyewitnesses and so guarantee the real humanity of the Savior. He truly died and was buried. His resurrection was a physical event, his appearances material, and his ascension into heaven such that his humanity was taken with him into the realm of spirit. The apostles were fully instructed by the Savior. They, therefore, guarantee an authentic exegesis of the Old Testament. The scriptures foretold the true humanity of the Savior, his passion and resurrection, along with the resurrection of his followers at the last day. The missionary enterprise was carried on within the framework of the apostolic testimony and guarantee. The guarantee is now present in the Church of the Aegean basin in the form of elders, appointed and fully instructed by the apostle to the Gentiles. To these elders has been entrusted the task of guarding the flock in the post-apostolic period. The motif of apostolicity guarantees the proclamation of the Church at its inception, in the present situation in the Aegean basin, and in its transmission from the beginning until now. Apostolicity is the Church's guarantee against the distortions of Gnosticism. In that Luke-Acts is dominated by this appeal to apostolic authority against Gnosis, its purpose can be considered that of an anti-Gnostic defense. Moreover, if the expression "Early Catholicism" is understood to imply a transition from the primitive Church to that of second-century Christianity made in tension with Gnosticism, without implying the Bultmannian understanding of the development of early Christian eschatology, then Luke-Acts is most certainly a representative of Early Catholicism.

Questions Raised by this Thesis

The questions for further study which have emerged in the course of this dissertation may be classified in five groups.

Apostolicity in the Early Church

In the process of arguing for an anti-Gnostic aim for Luke-Acts, we have found the appeal to apostolic authority to be crucial not only for Luke-Acts but also for the post-apostolic age in general. A number of questions arise about the place of apostolicity in early Christianity.

Its origin.--We have long been aware of the importance of apostolicity in the second-century Church. In this thesis we have become aware of its importance for the post-apostolic age, the age of transition. The question before us is: where should we locate the source or origin of the concept of apostolicity? Should we see the decisive step of establishing the concept taken in the post-apostolic age by Luke-Acts and Matthew?[1] Should we see its roots in the catholicizing tendencies of Paul's letters?[2] Is the Pauline concept of apostle perhaps derived from Gnostic sources?[3] Can the note of apostolicity be traced to the earliest kerygma[4] and to the primitive community?[5] Is there a chance that the concept of apostleship goes back ultimately to Jesus himself?[6] If it goes back early, how do the forms it takes differ in the various periods? To what should the variations be attributed?

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[1] Sherman E. Johnson, "The Emergence of the Christian Church in the Pre-Catholic Period," The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow, ed. Harold R. Willoughby (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 364.

[2] For example, in Colossians and Corinthians. This emphasis has been seen by Beare, IB, XI, 145; D. M. Stanley, "'Become Imitators of Me': The Pauline Conception of Apostolic Tradition," B, XL (1959), 859-877; W. Mundle, "Das Kirchenbewusstsein der aeltesten Christenheit," ZNW, XXII

Its relation to the problem of orthodoxy and heresy.-- If the Church was self-consciously apostolic from a very early date, what does this say to the problem of orthodoxy and heresy in the Church period to the middle of the second century? It has almost become a truism that heresy preceded orthodoxy and that there was no consciousness of orthodoxy until the

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(1923), 20-42. Mundle's article is most interesting. It is a dialogue with an article written by Karl Holl in 1921 on ecclesiasticism in Paul. Holl's argument was that the catholic tendencies of the second century, authority and tradition, reach back into the circle of the oldest community. Paul, in his conflict with the primitive community, introduced the dynamic principle. Mundle agrees with Holl about the primitive community, but he disagrees about Paul. He sees much that is catholic in Paul.

[3] Walter Schmithals, Das kirchliche Apostelamt: Eine historische Untersuchung ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments," Neue Folge, LXI; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1961); Gn. K., p. 246.

[4] See pp. 73ff.

[5] Mundle, op. cit.

[6] As Lk. 6:13 and Acts 1:2 indicate. Not according to Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, "Der urchristliche Apostelbegriff," ST, I (1947), 105, who thinks Luke has followed later linguistic usage and wrongly transposed the title to Jesus and his time. Perhaps we should mention that one's concept of the eschatology of Jesus and the early Church is crucial in one's estimate of the presence of an apostolic self-consciousness in the lifetime of Jesus.

middle of the second century.[7] Can this be maintained if the Church is found to be self-consciously apostolic from the earliest times? What is the relation between that which is constitutive and that which is regulative for the Christian Church? It was the apostolic kerygma that was constitutive for the early churches we hear about in Acts and in Paul's letters.[8] When the gospel was preached or taught churches were constituted. Involved in this proclamation, of course, were two elements: (1) the fact attested to, Jesus and the interpretation of his life, (2) the witnesses to the fact, the apostles. The function of the witnesses was both evangelistic and catechetical. If, however, the apostolic witness was constitutive for the Christian community, would it not be at least implicitly regulative from the beginning? All that would be necessary for the apostolic ministry of the tradition to become a function of defense against distortion would be the existence of some threat. When the Christian movement moved out into a world of hostile religious tendencies the evangelistic and catechetical functions of the ministers would become polemical and defensive. Heresy, then, would make explicit the regulative note of apostolicity. Will we not have to reformulate the entire question of heresy and orthodoxy in early Christianity?

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[7] This, of course, is due to the influence of Bauer, Rechtg. K.

[8] Acts 8:4ff., 11:19ff.; Gal. 3:1-5.

Its relation to the problem of a canon.--If Luke was consciously appealing to the apostolic guarantee in the face of a Gnostic threat, what does this say about what he thought he was writing? Did he not think that by reproducing the gospel tradition and by summarizing the early Christian exegesis of the Old Testament he was producing an authoritative document? If what he wrote solidified the true tradition which was constitutive of the community, did he not conceive of his task as a canonical, that is, regulative, one? Moreover, if the Pauline letters and the kerygma reflect an apostolic self-consciousness, will we not have to regard them as also in some sense motivated by more than merely passing problems? Will we not have to join with the current emphasis upon the occasional nature of New Testament literature[9] another emphasis, that of the implicit canonical character of these writings? If all of this is true, how will this affect our interpretation of a passage like II Peter 3:15-16? Does this writing's tendency to place Paul's letters in the same category with "the other scriptures" necessarily mean it belongs to a second-century setting?[10]

The Collection of Paul's Letters

In the course of our investigation we have been made aware of a problem of Aegean Christianity near A.D. 100. In the face of the Gnostic threat we have seen that the Church defended herself with an appeal to apostolicity. In light of this problem and in view of this response, certain questions arise about the collection of Paul's letters.

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[9] Enslin, Chr. Beg., p. 205.
[10] Ibid., p. 341.

The motive for the collection.--The dominant view in this country regards the publication of Acts as the occasion for the collection of Paul's letters.[11] For various reasons, this view does not carry conviction for me.[12] Assuming a date for the collection in the last quarter of the first century and a locale in the Aegean basin, as the dominant American position does, in light of the character of Aegean Christianity at this time, it is possible that a Gnostic problem was the motivating force in the collection.[13]

The occasion of II Peter.--II Peter, which is almost universally accepted as a post-apostolic document, with its Gnostic problem centering upon the matter of eschatology, its appeal to the apostles, its denial of private interpretation of the Old Testament, and its mention of the distortion of Paul's letters by heretics, fits quite easily into the same general period as the Lucan writings.[14] Could we not see in the misuse of Paul's letters reflected in II Peter the type of occasion which prompted the collection and official publication of the Pauline Corpus?

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[11] Edgar Johnson Goodspeed, New Solutions of New Testament Problems (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 4-5.

[12] See T. W. Manson, A Review of The Formation of the Pauline Corpus, by C. L. Mitton, JTS, New Series, VII (1956), 286-89, for a good criticism of Goodspeed's position.

[13] G. Bornkamm, "The History of the Origin of the So-called Second Letter to the Corinthians," NTS, VIII (1962), 258-64, sees the collection of the Corinthian correspondence as a deed of post-apostolic times in connection with the renewed disturbances in Corinth which we hear in I Clement.

The silence of Acts about Paul's letters.--It is the common assumption that the author of Acts did not know the Pauline letters.[15] Elsewhere in this thesis we have suggested that the silence of Acts in regard to Paul as a letter writer may be due to the author's schematic description of the apostolic age as an ideal period prior to heresy.[16] Another possibility to be considered is that in a situation where Gnostics were misusing Paul's letters,[17] before an official collection was made, it would not do to appeal to Paul's letters against the Gnostics. Luke may have felt that a letter could be forged or misinterpreted. The oral tradition, however, since it was guaranteed by elders known and approved, would be a better safeguard. Needless to say, if Luke reasoned this way, it was not long before he found this device perverted by Gnostics also. If either of these suggestions has any probability, then it may be that there is no necessity to say that the letters of Paul, either before or after their collection, were unknown to the author of Acts. The silence of Acts may very well serve as an anti-Gnostic defense.

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[14] See chap. iv.

[15] M. S. Enslin, "'Luke' and Paul," JAOS, LVIII (1938), 81-91, is one of the few contemporary scholars who has tried to reverse this trend.

[16] See p. 329, n. 32.

[17] II Thess. 2:2 and II Peter 3:16 indicate that such was a problem both in the apostolic age and in the post-apostolic age.

The Pastorals and the first collection.--It is commonly accepted today that the Pastorals were not a part of the first collection of Paul's letters.[18] This is claimed in spite of the fact that Polycarp, who is the best witness for the existence of a collection near A.D. 100, is at the same time a witness to the inclusion of the Pastorals in this collection.[19] In light of the character of the post-apostolic age with its dominant note of apostolicity, if the suggestion that the collection was motivated by an anti-Gnostic interest should prove acceptable, then what would be more natural than a collection of the ten letters presenting Paul's gospel, followed by the Pastorals which give the guarantee that the Pauline gospel has been faithfully transmitted to the post-Pauline Church? The Pastorals would quite naturally fit into the first collection.

Christian Exegesis of Scripture

In the course of our investigation, we have seen Luke appeal to a summary statement of Christian interpretation of the Old Testament as a defense against Gnosticism. This appeal raises significant questions.

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[18] Here again the influence of Goodspeed is felt.

[19] A Committee of the Oxford Society of Historical Theology, The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 95-97.

Testimony books.--The first question that arises is whether the summary of Christian interpretation of the Old Testament goes back to an earlier period? Were there in existence in early Christianity certain Testimony books?[20] Or was there in early Christianity a standardized Christian exegetical method? What is the source of these Testimony books or this standardized exegetical procedure, granted their existence? Should we look to the primitive Church or to Jesus?[21]

Christian and Jewish exegesis.--What is the relation of early Christian exegesis to that of the various segments of Judaism? How does it compare with that of the Pharisees,[22]

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[20] A number of recent works have taken up the lead of Harris and Dodd. Bernard Patteson Wather Stather Hunt, *Primitive Gospel Sources* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1951); Barnabas Lindars, *New Testament Apologetic: The Doctrinal Significance of the Old Testament Quotations* (London: SCM, 1961); Pierre Prigent, *Les Testimonia dans le Christianisme primitif: l' Epitre de Barnabe I-XVI et ses sources* ("Etudes Bibliques"; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1961); Robert A. Kraft, "The Epistle of Barnabas: Its Quotations and Their Sources," Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, 1961.

[21] C. H. Dodd, *According to the Scriptures* (London: Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1952), p. 110, says we should look to Jesus. This, of course, is what Lk. 24:44ff. indicates.

[22] J. Weingreen, "The Rabbinic Approach to the Study of the Old Testament," *BJRL*, XXXIV (1951-52), 166-90; Samuel Rosenblatt, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Mishna* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1935).

Qumran,[23] Philo,[24] the allegorists?[25] Does the Qumran evidence make the hypothetical early Christian Testimony books more probable? What would the comparison of these various exegetical procedures say about the character of first-century Judaism? If loyalty to the Torah explains the unity of Judaism of this period, does the variety of exegetical procedures explain the diversity of Judaism at this time? Is such exegetical procedure more likely to be the product of one man or of a community?

The Value of Tradition

In the course of this thesis we have worked almost totally from internal evidence, as opposed to the evidence of tradition. This is in line with modern historical procedure which looks upon the testimony of tradition with suspicion.[26] This dissertation, however, with its thesis that Luke-Acts has an anti-Gnostic purpose, necessitates a reëxamination of one particular strand of tradition.

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[23] W. H. Brownlee, "Biblical Interpretation among the Sectaries of the Dead Sea Scrolls," BA, XIV (1951), 54-76; M. H. Gottstein, "Bible Quotations in the Sectarian Dead Sea Scrolls," VT, III (1953), 79-82; Eva Osswald, "Zur Hermeneutik des Habakuk-Kommentars," ZAW, LXVIII (1956), 243-56; C. Roth, "The Subject Matter of Qumran Exegesis," VT, X (1960), 51-68; J. A. Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," NTS, VII (1961), 297-333.

[24] H. A. A. Kennedy, "Philo's Relation to the Old Testament," E, Series Eight, XVII (1919), 143-60; Samuel Sandmel, "Philo's Environment and Philo's Exegesis," JBR, XXII (1954), 248-53.

[25] Jacob Z. Lauterbach, "The Ancient Jewish Allegorists in Talmud and Midrash," JQR, I (1911), 291-333, 503-31.

[26] Enslin, Chr. Beg., p. 417.

What is the historical value of the anti-Marcionite prologue to Luke? R. G. Heard has dealt with this problem in part.[27] His conclusion is that the biographical first paragraph has historical value.[28] The rest of the prologue, however, he deems historically worthless.[29] In the light of our thesis, however, we cannot be so certain that the Prologue's description of Luke's purpose as an attempt to prevent believers from being led astray by Jewish myths, by heretical and empty imaginings, is historically worthless. Just what value does our thesis have in establishing the trustworthiness of this piece of tradition?

This raises the question of the value of tradition in general. Are we in need of a reappraisal of its value?

The Historical Value of Acts

Our investigation has centered almost completely upon the purpose of the author of Luke-Acts. We have been aware from the very beginning, however, that this question is closely related to the matter of the historicity of Acts.[30]

The significance of Luke's purpose for Acts' historical value.--An integral part of the critical method is the discounting of the author's biases in order to get at the facts. Discernment of the author's tendency or purpose in Acts is essential to the determination of the historical value of Acts. One cannot understand Luke as a historian if one does not understand him as a theologian. As a theologian, Luke will be understood from his teaching concerning the legitimate Church. He has constructed the history in Acts in order to oppose the one, holy, apostolic Church to the distortions of the Gnostics of his day.[31] This thesis, therefore, is one of the first necessary steps in the task of evaluating the historicity of Acts.

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[27] R. G. Heard, "Old Gospel Prologues," *JTS*, New Series, VI (1955), 1-16.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[29] *Ibid*.

[30] *See* p. 1.

The legitimacy and necessity of the historical question.--Conzelmann has pointed out how the trend of New Testament research in the Gospels has been from source criticism to form criticism to the present concern with the framework of the Gospels.[32] Modern scholars are interested in the theology and the purpose of each Evangelist. The task of research must not stop with the intention of the Evangelists, however. Research must press on to ask the historical question. The legitimacy of the historical question in Acts is based upon the necessity for an over-all historical reconstruction of early Christianity in order to understand the New Testament literature, as well as upon the crucial position of Acts as a source for such an endeavor. This thesis which seeks to understand the purpose of Luke leads straight to the question of the historicity of Acts and the reconstruction of the history of early Christianity.

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[31] Ernst Kaesemann, "Die Johannesjuenger in Ephesus," ZTK, XLIX (1952), 154.

[32] Conzelmann, Theol. Lk., pp. 9-10.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

LUKE 1:4-4:15

In connection with our investigation of the structure of Luke-Acts, questions arise about Luke 1:4-4:15. What is the structure of this section? What is the origin of this structure? Why does the Evangelist make the large break in his structure at 4:16 instead of 3:1? Do 1:4-2:52 form an integral part of the Third Gospel? The following pages will deal with these questions. If we devote our attention to the last of these, the answers to the others will emerge in the process.

Do Luke 1-2 form an integral part of the Lucan Gospel?[1] This question is raised for us by the methodology used in chapter one. One of the two arguments used in the first chapter to establish the unity of Luke and Acts appears to work against the unity of the birth stories and the Third Gospel. We refer to the speeches of Acts. On the one hand, of the six speeches which we examined,[2] only two contain any reference to John the Baptist. Acts 10:37 reads, "the word which was proclaimed throughout all Judea, beginning from Galilee after the baptism which John preached." Acts 13:24-25 runs, "Before his [Jesus'] coming John had preached a baptism of repentance to the people of Israel. And as John was finishing his course, he said, 'What do you suppose that I am? I am not he. No, but after me one is coming, the sandals of whose feet I am not worthy to untie.'" Neither reference points to anything about John earlier than his baptism of repentance.

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[1] Around the turn of the century there was an assault upon the original unity of Lk. 1-2 with 3-24. A convenient summary of the arguments used may be found in: (1) Paul W. Schmiedel, "Mary," EB, III, 2961, (2) Harry Usener, "Nativity," EB, III, 3347-48, (3) J. Gresham Machen, "The New Testament Account of the Birth of Jesus," PTR, IV (1906), 44-49. These arguments were treated in detail by Machen in his article of 1906. His treatment is still convincing and his conclusion sound. There are no solid reasons for considering 1:5-2:52 as an interpolation. Moffatt (Intro., pp. 267, 272-73) has gone over much of the same ground as Machen, though in less detail. His conclusion is in line with that of Machen.

On the other hand, none of these speeches refers explicitly to anything in Jesus' life that would point to the birth narratives. As with John, the references to Jesus' life generally fall within the time of his ministry. There is only one possible hint of the birth narratives in the speeches. That is Acts 13:23 where Paul says, "Of this man's [David's] posterity God has brought to Israel a Savior, Jesus, as he promised." The combination of Davidic lineage with the title Savior occurs only in the birth narratives.[3] This thread, however, is too weak to bear the weight of the whole argument.

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[2] See Chapter II, pp. 68-73.
[3] Lk. 2:11.

We must conclude, therefore, that the speeches of Acts furnish little evidence for the original unity of the birth narratives with the Third Gospel. It is this factor which poses our problem.

If an approach through the speeches of Acts furnishes insufficient evidence for the original unity of Luke 1-2 with the Third Gospel, we must try another method. Let us approach the problem through an examination of the structure of Luke 1:4-4:15. We will divide this analysis into two parts. First, we will investigate 3:1-4:15. Then, we will examine 1:4-2:52.

An investigation of Luke 3:1-4:15 yields a cycle comparing John and Jesus in three natural divisions.

	John		Jesus
3:1-6	John's person. He is the prophet of the eschaton.	1. 3:21-38	Jesus' person. He is the Son of God.
3:7-17	John's mission. It is eschatological, ethical, and anticipatory.	2. 4:1-13	Jesus' mission. It was not to fit popular expectation.
3:18-20	Summary. The end of John's mission.	3. 4:14-15	Summary. The beginning of Jesus' ministry.

Let us examine each parallel. The first involves 3:1-6 and 3:21-38. Luke 3:1-2 has an involved system of dating followed by the statement, "the word of the Lord came to John the son of Zechariah in the wilderness." The style seems to echo the introductions to the Old Testament prophets.[4] This is followed by an extended quotation taken from Isaiah 40:3-5 in verses 4-6. This quotation designates John as the "voice of one crying in the wilderness" which was to precede God's great eschatological act of deliverance. This form of writing is that which has been called typological.[5] That is, this is the method of writing which describes a person, event, or thing in the New Testament in terms borrowed from the description of its prototypal counterpart in the Old Testament in order to describe its nature. Thereby Luke is saying that John is a prophet, but not just a prophet. He is the eschatological voice in the wilderness. Luke 3:1-6, therefore, answers the question who John is.

Is this description of the Baptist an expression of Luke's mind, or is it due to his sources?[6] Examination of

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[4] Leaney, Com. Lk., p. 106.

[5] G. W. H. Lampe and K. J. Woollcombe, Essays on Typology ("Studies in Biblical Theology," XXII; Naperville, Illinois: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 39-40. Woollcombe uses John the Baptist's linkage with Elijah as an example. Mt. and Mk. describe John in terms of his prototype in the Old Testament. They thereby say who he is. He is Elijah redivivus. By redivivus, however, one should not understand reincarnation.

[6] We regard it unnecessary to treat in detail the claim that behind 3:1-20 is a document containing the Baptist's teaching and owing nothing to Christian editing except the abridgment at its conclusion. J. C. Todd, "The Logia of the Baptist," ET, XXI (1910), 173-75. See also, Clayton Raymond Bowen, "John the Baptist in the New Testament," AJT, XVI (1912), 91. Cited hereafter as "John N. T." This thesis follows the theory of gospel sources which holds to the priority of Mk., the existence of some source or sources used

Luke 3:1-6 reveals that at most only verses 3 and 4 come from Mark. Verses 1-2, 5-6 are L material. It is precisely this L tradition which gives the passage its typological form. The conception of John as eschatological prophet in this pericope, therefore, must be due to the Third Evangelist.

The parallel to Luke 3:1-6 is 3:21-38. This section includes the baptism of Jesus and a lengthy genealogy. At the baptism a heavenly voice addresses Jesus, "You are my son."[7] The genealogy traces Joseph's lineage back to Adam and finally back to God. There can be no doubt that 3:21-38 functions for Luke as the answer to the question who Jesus is. Whereas John is the eschatological prophet of Isaiah 40, Jesus, being the supposed son of Joseph, is the Son of God.

Is this description of Jesus' person in such a way as to parallel 3:1-6 a reflection of the mind of Luke? Luke 3:23-38 is peculiar to the Third Gospel. Also, it is located not in the birth narratives as Matthew's genealogy is, but precisely at this spot where it reinforces the Son of God motif in the baptism passage. These two facts indicate that here we see the hand of Luke.

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commonly by Mt. and Lk. which we call Q, and the existence of tradition peculiar to Lk., maybe oral, maybe written, maybe both, which we call L. All these sources are Christian.

[7] The textual problem is irrelevant for our purposes. The reading of Vaticanus and Sinaiticus and others begins συ εἶ ὁ υἱός μαυ. The reading of Bezae, the old Latin, Justin and others begins υἱός μου εἶ σοῦ. In both cases, therefore, the reading begins, "You are my Son."

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The second parallel involves 3:7-17 and 4:1-13. Luke 3:7-17 deals with the Baptist's preaching and teaching. It is divided into three sections. Verses 7-9 characterize John's mission as eschatological. Mention is made of the "wrath to come" and the "fire" which point to the judgment. The expression "even now" of verse 9 refers to the imminent end. Verses 10-14 give the specific instructions of John to the multitudes, to the tax collectors, and to the soldiers. They characterize John's mission as ethical in intent. Verses 15-17 give John's answer to the people's questions about the Christ. They characterize the Baptist's mission as anticipatory. This section, therefore, has given a threefold description of John's mission.

Can we attribute this description to Luke? Verses 7-9 are from Q.[8] Verses 10-14 are L material. Verses 16-17 are from Q.[9] The major variations from Matthew in the two Q pericopes come on the emphasis on the crowds. Luke 3:7 has ὄχλοις where Matthew 3:7 has Φαρισαίων και Σαδδουκαίων. This is probably because Luke 3:10 has ὄχλοι. Luke 3:15 also is added to give the crowds. Though the term used is τοῦ λαοῦ, the idea is the same. The introduction of each part of John's mission with the mention of the people makes the three pericopes a unit. The addition of the L passage is most likely to make the description of John's mission threefold.

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[8] Mt. 3:7-10.

[9] Mt. 3:11-12.

The parallel to 3:7-17 is 4:1-13, the temptation story. William Manson sees these temptations as Messianic.[10] The first he views against the background of the Jewish expectation that in the New Age the Messiah would furnish bread from heaven as Moses had done. The second he understands against the background of a Messianic hope founded upon earthly rule. The third he connects with the midrash telling that when King Messiah comes he will stand on the roof of the Holy Place. The temptation narrative, then, is viewed as dealing with the mission of Jesus and how he is to accomplish it. It is probable that Manson's approach has rightly grasped the function of the temptation story for Luke. It functions as a parallel to 3:7-17 which treats the ministry of John in a threefold fashion.

Can we see the hand of the author in 4:1-13? The temptation story is Q tradition (=Matthew 4:1-11). The order of the temptations in Luke, however, is different from that in Matthew. The second and third temptations of Matthew are reversed in order. In Luke, the Devil's challenge to Jesus to throw himself down from the pinnacle of the temple comes last. Is the Lucan order to be explained as a case where

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[10] William Manson, The Gospel of Luke ("Moffatt New Testament Commentaries"; New York: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1930), pp. 37-39.

Luke follows the original form of Q or as another instance of Luke's practice of modifying his sources to fit his theological intent?[11]

That the Lucan order of the temptations is due to the Evangelist's intent is made probable by two considerations. First, in our examination of Luke 4:16-Acts 28, we have found the two volumes parallel to each other. Part of that parallelism consists of a visit to Jerusalem and the temple by Jesus which corresponds to a similar visit by Paul. The visits to the temple in Jerusalem tie the two figures together. Second, as will be clear by the time our investigation of Luke 1:5-4:15 is complete, this part of the Gospel is divided structurally into two parts, 1:5-2:52 and 3:1-4:15. Moreover, both parts end with a journey to the temple in Jerusalem. Luke 2:22-38 and 2:41-50 record two visits of Jesus to the temple in Jerusalem. They conclude the first part of Luke 1:5-4:15. It is not likely that Luke's account of the temptations, which virtually concludes the second part of Luke 1:5-4:15, has the order rearranged to put a visit to the temple in Jerusalem for no cause. It is likely that the order of the temptations is what it is in order to tie the two halves of Luke 1:5-4:15 together.

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[11] Major, Manson, and Wright, Miss. Mess., p. 335, say it is due to Q. Adrian Hastings, Prophet and Witness in Jerusalem (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), p. 123, says that the order of the temptations in Mt. and Lk, is due to the chief preoccupations of the writers, the Kingdom in Mt. and Jerusalem in Lk.

The third parallel involves 3:18-20 and 4:14-15. Luke 3:18-20 states that while John was preaching Herod took him and shut him up in prison. This brought his ministry to an end. This seems to form a summary statement for this section of Johannine material. Its emphasis is upon the conclusion of the Baptist's ministry. Verse 18 is editorial. Verses 19-20 are either L tradition or a free rewriting of Mark 6:17-18. In any case, the arrest of John is given before the baptism of Jesus. This strange fact is necessary for the over-all design which groups all of the John material together prior to its parallel Jesus tradition.

Luke 4:14-15 is a summary statement about the beginning of Jesus' ministry. Its emphasis is upon his successes. It is a Lucan summary.

From this investigation of Luke 3:1-4:14 we have seen that the section falls into a threefold parallel between Jesus and John which is certainly due to the Third Evangelist.

We must now examine Luke 1:4-2:52 to determine its structure.[12] An investigation of this section reveals that the two chapters fall into two seven-part cycles joined by 1:39-56. The first cycle runs from 1:5-38 and may be broken down as follows:

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[12] Among the most recent scholars who have seen the parallels of the birth narratives, we may mention four: (1) Philip Vielhauer, "Das Benedictus des Zacharias (Luk. 1:68-79)," ZTK, XLIX (1952), 255, cited hereafter as "Benedictus," (2) A. S. Geyser, "The Youth of John the Baptist," NT, I (1956), 72, cited hereafter as "Youth," (3) M. D. Goulder and M. L. Sanderson, "St. Luke's Genesis," JTS, New Series, VIII (1957), 19, cited hereafter as "Genesis," (4) René Laurentin,

	John		Jesus
1:5-7	The parents are introduced as Elizabeth and Zachariah.	1. 1:26-27	The parents are introduced as Mary and Joseph.
1:8-11	An angel appears to Zachariah.	2. 1:28	An angel appears to Mary.
1:12	And Zachariah was troubled.	3. 1:29	But she was greatly troubled.
1:13-17	The angel replies, "Do not be afraid. A son will be born whose name will be John." A hymn follows proclaiming the son's character and work.	4. 1:30-33	The angel replies, "Do not be afraid. A son will be born whose name will be Jesus." A hymn follows proclaiming the son's character and work.
1:18	Zachariah utters a question expressing doubt coupled with the reason for his doubt.	5. 1:34	Mary utters a question expressing her amazement coupled with the reason for her wonder.
1:19-23	The angel's reply to Zachariah.	6. 1:35-37	The angel's reply to Mary.
1:24-25	Elizabeth's speech relating to God's action.	7. 1:38	Mary's speech relating to God's action.

The second cycle begins with 1:57 and continues

Structure et théologie de Luc I-II ("Etudes Bibliques"; Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie, Editeurs, 1957), pp. 32-34. According to J. G. Machen, this parallelism has been recognized at least since Gelpke. (*The Virgin Birth of Christ* [New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1930], p. 152, n. 49).

through 2:52. It may be broken down as follows:

1:57	Now the time came for Elizabeth to be delivered and she gave birth to a son.	1. 2:1-7	The time came for Mary to be delivered and she gave birth to her first born son.
1:58	And her kinsfolk and neighbors rejoiced when they heard what the Lord had done.	2. 2:8-20	The shepherds rejoiced, glorifying and praising God for all they had seen and heard.
1:65-66	These verses give a description of the reaction (fear) to the events, a mention of the news and of the laying it up in the hearts of those who heard.	3. 2:17-18	These verses give a description of the reaction (wonder) to the event, a mention of the spreading of the news, and of Mary's keeping all this in her heart.
1:59-64	The child is circumcized on the eighth day and named John as the angel had directed.	4. 2:21	The child is circumcized at the end of eight days and named Jesus as the angel had directed.
1:67-79	A prophetic hymn of God's act and John's function.	5. 2:22-38	A prophetic hymn of God's act and Jesus' function.
1:80a	The child grew and became strong in spirit.	6. 2:39-40	The child grew and became strong.
1:80b	He was in the wilderness until	7. 2:41-52	He went down to Nazareth until . . . .

Thus, it seems that the birth narratives fall into two seven-part cycles comparing John and Jesus, separated by 1:39-56. Is this parallelism due to the Evangelist or to his sources? This question leads us into the complex problem of the sources of Luke 1-2.[13]

In reply to the query as to the origin of the parallelism of the birth narratives of Luke, scholarship is divided. The one group asserts that the parallelism was present in Luke's source.[14] The other group avows that the parallels were introduced by the Evangelist.[15] As far as this student is concerned, none of the proposed solutions to the source problem of Luke 1-2 gives any substantial evidence for its validity. What then may we conclude? Can we conclude anything else than that in the area of source analysis of Luke 1-2 there is neither a concensus nor a convincing solution? The source analysis of Luke 1-2, therefore, can neither help nor hinder an answer to our problem. Our conclusion must be based on other evidence. The only argument available in this situation is the argument from analogy. On the basis of the fact that the parallelism elsewhere in Luke-Acts, and especially in 3:1-4:15, is due to the author, we may say that probably the present parallels are the Evangelist's production.

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[13] There are four basic positions as regards the sources of Lk. 1-2. The first sees one source behind the first two chapters of Lk. This source may be either Aramaic or Greek in the form in which it was used by Lk. Among the many representatives of this position we may mention Streeter, Four G., p. 267, Easton, Gos. Lk., p. xxiii, Geyser, "Youth," p. 73, W. L. Knox, The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, II, ed. Henry Chadwick (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), 40-43, H. L. MacNeill, "The Sitz im Leben of Luke 1:5-2:20," JBL, LXV (1946), 123-30, F. W. Goodman, "Sources of the First Two Chapters in Matthew and Luke," CQR, CLXII (1961), 136-43. The second basic position asserts that there are two sources behind Lk. 1-2. This is the position taken by Leaney (Com. Lk., pp. 26-27). The third claims that there are multiple sources behind the first two chapters of Lk. They may all be oral or there may be one document plus several oral legends. Among the representatives of this position we may mention Rudolf Karl Bultmann, Die Geschichte der Synoptischen Tradition (3. Auflage; Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957), pp. 320-31, cited hereafter as Gesch. Syn. T., and Martin Dibelius, From Tradition to Gospel, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935), pp. 106, 123-32, and Vielhauer, "Benedictus," pp. 255-57. The fourth basic position regards Lk. 1-2 as a free composition on the basis of Old Testament models. This position has been recently set forth by Goulder and Sanderson, "Genesis," pp. 12-30.

[14] Those scholars who hold to a one source theory would of necessity have to refer the parallels to the document.

[15] For those who hold to dual or multiple sources as well as those who assert that the chapters are a free composition, the parallels are due to the Evangelist.

What can we say then about the relation of 1:4-2:52 to 3:1-4:15? There are three weighty reasons for regarding these two sections as a unit. First, we have seen that the dominant figures in both sections are the Baptist and the son of Mary. Second, we have seen that the structure of both sections is based upon the same principle, parallelism between John and Jesus. Third, examination of these chapters will reveal common theological motifs.

Two dominant motifs are given these chapters by their structure. On the one hand, both sections speak of the unity between John and Jesus. The parallelism of the two figures ties them closely together. On the other hand, both sections speak of the exaltation of Jesus over John. In chapters 1-2, this is the function of 1:39-56.[16] In 3:1-4:15 John's function is to "prepare the way of the Lord." His mission is anticipatory. The summary statement of his mission speaks of its termination, while that of Jesus speaks of its beginning. Thus, in both sections the theological motifs supplied by the structure are the same. We may safely conclude that 1:4-4:15 forms a unit.

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[16] Vielhauer, "Benedictus," p. 255; Carl H. Kraeling, John the Baptist (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1951), p. 17. Cited hereafter as Jn. B.

The unity of Luke 1-2 with the Third Gospel is, therefore, probable for two reasons. First, they are one with 3:1-4:15 which is not in question. To deny the original unity of the first two chapters with the Third Gospel would necessitate denying such a place to 3:1-4:15. This is an absurdity. Second, the principle of the arrangement of the tradition is the same in Luke 1:4-2:52, 3:1-4:15 and the rest of Luke-Acts. The parallels here bind this section to the whole work.

The results of this investigation yield a pattern which emerges in Luke's work as a whole. The pattern shows three stages.[17] First, there is the stage represented by Luke 1:4-4:15. This section is dominated by the parallelism between John and Jesus. Second, there is the stage represented by Luke 4:16-24:53. This section is structured around a parallelism between Galilee (chapter 9) and Jerusalem (chapters 22-23). The third stage is represented by Acts.

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[17] This reinforces the conclusion of Conzelmann without at the same time committing us to agreement with his arguments. See Chapter II, p. 123.

This section is organized around a parallelism between Peter and Paul. From this over-all view of Luke's structure we can understand why the Evangelist made a major break in his structure at 4:15 instead of 3:1.

With this final observation it is hoped that we have answered the questions raised by the methods employed in Chapter One by the use of those very same methods.[18]

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[18] The conclusion reached in this appendix about the nature of the birth narrative's structure and theological intent enables us to say something about the theory of a Baptist source behind Lk. 1. A number of scholars have argued for a Baptist source behind Lk. 1. We may mention: (1) D. Voelter, "Die Apokalypse des Zacharias im Evangelium des Lukas," TT., XXX (1896), 244-69, (2) J. R. Wilkinson, A Johannine Document in the First Chapter of St. Luke's Gospel (London: Luzac & Co., 1902), (3) Bowen, "John N. T.," pp. 95-98, (4) Bultmann, Gesch. Syn. T., pp. 320-21, (5) Kraeling, Jn. B., pp. 16-18, (6) Paul Winter, "The Proto Source of Luke 1," NT, I (1956), 185. On what basis do these scholars argue for such a source?

The arguments used may be summarized as follows: (1) the Baptist's birth and infancy are depicted in such detail that as much space is allowed for John as for Jesus, (2) many of the details are without relation to Lk.'s purpose in noting the work of John at the beginning of the Gospel, (3) John is described with a loving reverence that could not have had its source in Christian circles, (4) John's birth is accompanied with full divine participation just as is that of Jesus, (5) there are different conceptions of the nature of the Messianic Kingdom in 1:5-25 and 1:26-56 (In the former John is not the forerunner of the Messiah but of God Himself.), (6) if 1:5-25, 57-66, is extracted from the other narratives, these verses possess a real continuity in themselves. The autonomy and significance of John as he is portrayed here point, therefore, to a non-Christian origin for these verses. Their origin was among the Baptist's disciples.

Let us examine these arguments one by one. The first argument from the amount of space allotted to John is without basis because if Luke was to parallel the two men point for point, it was necessary to allow approximately the same amount of material for each. The second argument is absolutely

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untrue. Our entire investigation of the structure of these chapters has shown just how relevant each detail about John is to the Evangelist's over-all purpose. The third argument is also without impact. Why would Christians not have portrayed John with reverence if their Lord had had a high opinion of him and if many of them had been at first followers of John's movement as had Jesus? The fourth argument is subject to two criticisms. First, the angel would have to appear in John's cycle just as in that of Jesus to complete the parallels. Second, the Holy Spirit is the active agent all through Luke's two volume work. He is at work in John, in Jesus, and in the church. Each of Luke's three stages is filled with the Spirit. The full divine participation is, therefore, in full accord with Luke's purpose. The fifth argument is the one on which these scholars place their highest value. Two things must be said in reply to this argument. To assume that because Luke 1:5-25 is purely Jewish in character while 1:26-56 is distinctively Christian the former verses can only be explained by the origin of this section amid a non-Christian sect is to fail to see one's basic assumption. Such a solution assumes that the narrative is absolutely unhistorical. If, however, Luke 1:5-25 possesses any historical accuracy, then because John and his parents were non-Christian, we would expect the absence of any specifically Christian ideas. (J. G. Machen, "The Origin of the First Two Chapters of Luke," PTR, X (1912), 275.) Also, this argument involves the claim that 1:69-70 are a later insertion due to a Christian editor. This, of course, could be the case but it involves employing a norm derived by assumption and not by investigation. For these two reasons it seems to this student that this is a precarious argument. The sixth argument's fallacy is the same as that we saw in Taylor's claim for an independent passion narrative for Luke. The continuity, that is the parallels, in the finished form of Luke 1-2 is due to the Evangelist. If one half of the parallelism is taken by itself, then this does not automatically nullify the continuity supplied by the Third Evangelist.

The case, therefore, for an originally independent Baptist source underlying Lk. 1 must be considered as not established. There may have been such a source but the arguments for it do not make it probable.

APPENDIX II

MISCELLANY

In the course of our investigation a number of questions have come to mind which could not be dealt with in the four main chapters of the dissertation without interfering with the thrust of the argument. It is convenient, therefore, to deal with such miscellaneous issues in this appendix. The various problems may be grouped into three categories.

The first category may be stated in the form of a question. Are there other indications than those treated in the main body of the thesis which would point to an anti-Gnostic purpose for Luke-Acts?

In Luke

There are certain passages in the Third Gospel that may very well fit into the anti-Gnostic aim of the Lucan literature.

1) The birth narrative (Luke 1-2) has been interpreted in this way by scholars in the past.[1] Several factors argue for the correctness of this interpretation. First, the

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[1] See p. 193, n. 12.

earliest non-canonical appeal to the virgin birth comes in Ignatius, whose letters come from the same geographical locale near the same time as Luke-Acts.[2] In Ignatius the birth of Jesus functions as a defense against Docetism.[3] Second, Luke-Acts has shown definite signs of a Gnostic problem. If the heretics are docetic in their treatment of Jesus' passion-resurrection, it is likely that they would also be docetic in their treatment of his birth. There is a natural probability, therefore, that adheres to an anti-Gnostic explanation for the Lucan birth narratives. Third, this natural probability is strengthened by the similarities we have found between the errorists combatted by Ignatius and those combatted by Luke.[4] It is probable, therefore, that past scholarship is correct in seeing the Lucan birth narratives as an anti-Gnostic device.

2) The specifications of time in the Third Gospel (Luke 1:5; 2:1ff.; 3:1ff.) have been customarily viewed as an indication that Luke was attempting to be a historian, historicizing an eschatological tradition.[5] They could just as easily be explained as Luke's attempt to tie the events of salvation-history to the concrete events of world affairs due to a Gnostic attempt to sever the saving events from

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[2] See p. 246.
[3] Tral. 9; Smyr. 1:1.
[4] See p. 247.
[5] Bultmann, T. N. T., II, 116-17.

history and to transfer them to the realm of myth.[6] Such an attempt by the Gnostics would be what we would expect in light of their Docetism.

3) The baptism story in Luke (3:21-22) is unique in that it says the Spirit descended upon Jesus "in bodily form" (σωματικῶ εἴδει). We know that some Gnostics, like Cerinthus, argued that Christ, a spiritual and impassible being, descended upon Jesus, the fleshly creature, at his baptism in the form of a dove. The spiritual Christ then left before the human Jesus suffered.[7] We know that Luke worked hard to avoid any separation of spirit and flesh in the Savior's passion-resurrection-ascension. It is possible, and even probable, that this Lucan addition is for the explicit purpose of combatting such a division of flesh and spirit at this point in Jesus' life.

4) The genealogy of Luke 3:23-38 is peculiar to the Third Gospel. This genealogy traces Joseph's lineage back to Adam and concludes with the words "the son of God." A recent study of this genealogy in the light of the various uses of genealogies in antiquity comes to the conclusion that the Lucan passage is an attempt to elucidate the saying of the voice from heaven which was heard at the baptism.[8]

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[6] In Ignatius this is certainly the function of the reference to Pontius Pilate (Mag. 11; Tral. 9:1; Smyr. 1:2).

[7] Grant, *Gnos.*, p. 41.

[8] Rodney T. Hood, "The Genealogies of Jesus," *Early Christian Origins*, ed. Allen Paul Wikgren (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1961), p. 13.

Its primary purpose is to exhibit Jesus as the Son of God.[9]

> By stating his descent from God in terms of his descent from Adam, the writer does not answer the question in what way Jesus differs from other men. According to Jewish tradition, all men were sons of Adam, and this common kinship is recognized by the writer in Acts 17:28 . . . . The only distinction accorded to Jesus is that he has here his complete line of descent from Adam, whereas most human beings are without a written genealogy.[10]

The Lucan genealogy, therefore, intends to define Son of God in terms that do not allow the Savior to be separated from our common humanity.[11] This could very well be seen, together with the baptism story, as an anti-Gnostic defense.

5) We may consider the evidence concerning the second coming of Jesus in Luke. The evidence seems to fall into two categories. On the one hand, Luke seems to have faced a situation in which some became morally lax in light of the delay of the end (Luke 12:35-48=Matthew 24:43-51, Q; Luke 18:1-8, L; Luke 21:34-36, L). We know that such a trend existed in early Christianity. The Q passage, Luke 12:45-46= Matthew 24:48-51, is evidence for such a trend prior to A.D. 70.[12] I Clement 23 is evidence for this trend near the end of the first century.[13] II Clement 9 and II Peter show

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[9] Ibid., p. 14.

[10] Ibid.

[11] See Acts 17:26.

[12] Q is usually dated prior to A.D. 70 (Vincent Taylor, The Gospels [8th ed.; London: Epworth Press, 1956], p. 23).

[13] See p. 52, n. 164.

it existed somewhat later.[14] On the other hand, Luke may have been faced with a situation in which some claimed the end had already come or was at hand (Luke 17:22-23, verse 22 is peculiar to Luke, verse 23=Matthew 24:26, Q; Luke 19:11, peculiar to Luke; Luke 21:8, "the time is at hand" is peculiar to Luke). We know that such a trend as this existed in early Christianity. II Thessalonians 2:2 and I Corinthians 4, 15 furnish evidence for such prior to A.D. 70.[15] II Timothy 2:18 and the Fourth Gospel furnish evidence for such a trend near the time of Luke-Acts.[16] The effect of both of these trends was to deny the reality of the resurrection. The one movement apparently denied the resurrection in the interest of antinomian tendencies, using the delay as an excuse. The other trend evidently denied the resurrection by claiming a person was already raised when he was enlightened. In both cases, however, the trends seem to spring out of Gnostic presuppositions. Since both trends existed in the Aegean basin at the end of the first century, it is not impossible to see Luke's evidence in the light of just such a Gnostic denial of the general resurrection.

In each of these five Lucan emphases it is possible to see further indications of Luke's defense against

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[14] *Ibid.*
[15] *See* p. 52, n. 163.
[16] *Ibid.*

Gnosticism.[17]

In Acts

There are also certain aspects of Acts that would fit very well into the Lucan defense against Gnosticism.

1) The use of the names "Lord," "Jesus," and "Christ" in Acts is instructive. The tendency of the author of Acts is to favor the name "Jesus" when talking of the Church's Savior. Luke uses "Jesus" more than he uses all other combinations put together. The tendency of Acts is to avoid the expressions "Christ" and "Christ Jesus." If any theological tendency may be seen in Luke's use of "Jesus" as the dominant name for the Church's Savior, it is that the Savior is a man. Acts 2:22 sums it up properly: "Jesus of Nazareth, a man . . . ." This preference for the name "Jesus" may be significant. Paul used the name "Jesus" when he wished to stress the Savior's humanity.[18] In I John, moreover, the author opposes the Gnostic denial of the Savior's humanity by emphasizing the name of the Son of God. This name is "Jesus" (5:13; 5:1; 5:5). It is probable also that John 20:31 has the same motive. To believe that "Jesus is the Christ" is to believe that the Christ is truly human.

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[17] Of lesser importance but of possible significance are the peculiarly Lucan verses 6:40, 11:41 (cf. Acts 10:28), and 16:31.

[18] Schmithals, Gn. K., p. 51.

It is possible, therefore, that the Lucan use of the name "Jesus" in Acts serves an anti-Gnostic purpose.

2) Certain facts point to an eschatological problem facing Luke. We may note the ending of Acts. In Acts 21:20ff. we learn that the reason the Jewish brethren are bothered by Paul is that they have heard he teaches Jews to forsake Moses by not circumcizing their children or observing the customs. In Acts 21:27ff. we learn that the reason the Jews from Asia stirred up a mob against Paul was because they thought that he had brought a Gentile into the Temple. The situation of Acts 22:1-22 confirms this impression. We are led, therefore, to believe that the issue between Paul and the Jewish people was the matter of the ritual law and the Temple. Yet in Acts 23:6, 24:21, 26:6-8, and 28:20 Paul says in his speeches that he is on trial with respect to the resurrection of the dead. By the resurrection, as 24:15, 26:7, and 28:20 show, Paul means not the resurrection of Jesus but the general resurrection. This seems to be completely incongruous in terms of the immediate context. Moreover, the position of this emphasis on the resurrection at the very end of Acts raises it to real importance. The reader would finish reading the work with the apostolic affirmation of the resurrection of the dead in the face of Jewish opposition ringing in his ears. It is as though Luke had wished to end his second volume with the affirmation of

the general resurrection as he ended the first volume with the affirmation of Jesus' resurrection. Why would he desire to do this? It is possible that this device is aimed at the same problem we have seen in the motif of the interpretation of Scripture. There we have found a denial of the general resurrection characteristic of the Gnostic problem Luke confronted. Since the Gnosis Luke combatted denied a general resurrection, it is natural to see the Lucan emphasis on the resurrection in relation to this problem.

3) The conflict with the circumcision party in Acts may very well be intended by Luke to fit into his anti-Gnostic purpose. We have seen that Peter and Paul are paralleled in Acts.[19] One part of this parallelism is the conflict each has with a circumcision party within the Church. An unusual amount of attention is given to this conflict by Luke. The fact that Acts 10 narrates Peter's experience with Cornelius in the third person only to be followed by Acts 11 in which Peter narrates the same series of events in the first person indicates the emphasis which Luke wants to give this incident.[20] In Acts 13-14 we hear of the first missionary journey of Paul. During this journey he, like Peter, turns to Gentiles (13:46-48). When he returns to Antioch he finds a circumcision party at work there (15:1-2). Acts 15

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[19] See pp. 78ff.

[20] Dibelius, Stud. A. A., pp. 109-10.

tells of the debate at Jerusalem at which the issue was settled. The chapter contains a speech by Peter (15:7-11), a speech by James (15:13-21), and a letter from the assembly (15:23-29). In this threefold refrain Luke emphasizes the decision against the circumcision party. Thus, both Peter and Paul turn to the Gentiles, both are confronted by a circumcision party, and both have decisions rendered in their favor in Jerusalem. Circumcision is not necessary for Christians.

The question that arises at this point is: why does Luke write about a controversy over circumcision? Perhaps the first possibility that presents itself to our minds is that Luke was writing a history of the early Church. He wrote about it merely because it happened. Two considerations militate against this easy explanation. First, we have seen that Luke's purpose is not merely an historical one. He is writing with a contemporary problem in mind. His selection of events about which to write, therefore, is determined by the present need. Second, even if Luke told of the circumcision debate from a historical motive, why does he emphasize it as he does? This emphasis points to an immediate concern of Luke. But why would Luke emphasize a controversy over circumcision to deal with a problem of his own time? Even those who regard legalistic Jewish-Christianity as a problem for the Church in Paul's day do not regard this group as a serious problem after A.D. 70 when Luke-Acts was written.[21] Who then could be posing the circumcision issue for the Church of Luke's time? We have seen that Luke did face a Gnostic problem. Could this Gnosis have had as part of its teaching the necessity of circumcision? We have seen that the Gnostic heresy reflected in Colossians (2:11-14) regarded circumcision as a necessary rite.[22] Moreover, in the Pastorals (Titus 1:10) we hear of a circumcision party (οἱ ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς)[23] which is almost certainly the same as the Gnostic heresy combatted there.[24] It must be concluded then that there was a Gnosis in the Aegean basin near the time of Luke-Acts that practiced the rite of circumcision. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that the Lucan emphasis upon the apostolic rejection of circumcision as a necessity for Christians should be seen as another attempt by Luke to form a defense against Gnosticism.

4) There is a certain similarity between the picture of Paul we find in Acts and that of the Pastorals. Some of the most obvious parallels are: (1) in both Paul is concerned with the fate of his churches after his death (Acts 20:17ff.- II Timothy 1:13-14; 2:2),[25] (2) in both this concern centers

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[21] See p. 21, n. 47.

[22] See p. 172.

[23] Acts 11:2 has οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς.

[24] Gealy, IB, XI, 529-30.

[25] In the authentic letters, however, Paul seems to expect the end before his death (I Thess. 4:15; I Cor. 15: 51-52; Phil. 4:5).

on the problem of heresy (Acts 20:28-30-II Timothy 1-3), (3) in both the churches are ruled by elder-bishops appointed by Paul or his assistants (Acts 14:23; 20:17ff.-Titus 1:5; I Timothy 5:17; II Timothy 2:2),[26] (4) in both the tradition passed on by Paul to the elders is public (Acts 20:20-II Timothy 2:2), (5) in both the center of the heresy about which Paul is concerned is Ephesus (Acts 20:17ff.-I Timothy 1:3), (6) in both Paul is concerned that a minister avoid a love of money (Acts 20:33-35-I Timothy 6:9-10; Titus 1:11), (7) in both Paul emphasizes the suffering role of the minister (Acts 20:23-24; the parallel between Paul's passion journey and that of Jesus[27]-II Timothy 1:11-12; 2:3; 3:11; 4:5), (8) in both the suffering of Paul does not hinder the spread of the Gospel (Acts 28:30-31-II Timothy 2:9). These obvious similarities between the picture of Paul that we get from Luke-Acts and the Pastorals seem to relate naturally to the problem of the apostolic defense against heresy. The heresy involved in the Pastorals, of course, is Gnosticism. We have also seen that Luke-Acts is a defense against Gnosis. Could it be that the similarity in the picture of Paul in these two sets of writings is due to the fact that both are fighting a battle against Gnosticism? If so, then the picture of Paul we find in Acts is itself a way Luke has devised to defend the Church against the Gnostic heresy.

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[26] In the authentic letters, the organization seems much more fluid (I Cor. 12:28-30; Rom. 12:3-8). Phil. 1:1 may be the exception.

[27] See p. 83.

We have seen, therefore, that there are a number of miscellaneous items in Luke-Acts that may be seen in relation to the anti-Gnostic aim of the Evangelist.[28]

The second category may also be stated in the form of a question. Are there strands of evidence in Luke-Acts that would argue against an anti-Gnostic purpose for the Lucan literature?

In Luke

The major objection to the thesis that the Third Gospel is best understood as an anti-Gnostic writing is the objection that the bulk of tradition in the Gospel does not seem to be altered in the interest of such an aim. We have found tendencies in Luke 23-24 and in Luke 1-3 that may be so interpreted, but what about Luke 4-22? This objection carries little weight. In the first place, we have found the entire Gospel structured so that it would fit into Luke's purpose. The Gospel is paralleled to Acts. Galilee and Jerusalem are paralleled. Moreover, throughout the Gospel there runs a witness motif, from Luke 5-24. It cannot be said, therefore, that the bulk of the Gospel is untouched by peculiarly Lucan tendencies that fit into an anti-Gnostic purpose. In the second place, the very nature of what Luke is trying to do would make him present a mass of tradition relatively unaltered. He is trying to give a guarantee for the gospel. His means in the Gospel is to present the tradition his church knew already, but structured in such a way, with motifs running throughout, that the basic tradition would possess an apostolic guarantee. His objective and his method both leave the gospel tradition basically unaltered. The major objection to an anti-Gnostic purpose for the Third Gospel, therefore, proves to carry little weight.

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[28] Of lesser importance but of possible significance are several other Lucan emphases in Acts. First, the healing of the lame man in Acts 3:1-4:22 is used to give content to the term "salvation" (4:12). Salvation is here the healing of a man's illness. It is no escape from the world. This would serve admirably as an anti-Gnostic argument. Second, Acts has a motif which indicates that the love of money issues in all kinds of unrighteousness (1:18; 5:1ff.; 8:18ff.; 16:16ff.; 19:27ff.; 20:33ff.; 24:26). Since this kind of charge elsewhere is seen against Gnostics, it is possible that it was so used by Acts (cf. I Tim. 6:9-10; II Tim. 3:2; Tit. 1:11). Third, there is little made of the Lord's supper in Acts (2:42, 46 and 20:7, 11). One wonders whether the silence could be due to distortions of the meal by Gnostic elements within the Church?

In Acts

There are several objections to an attempt to see Acts as an anti-Gnostic writing.

1) If Luke-Acts is anti-Gnostic, why is not Simon Magus (Acts 8), whom the early fathers call the father of the Gnostic heresy, described in unambiguously Gnostic terms? It would seem that if Luke is writing with an anti-Gnostic

purpose in mind he has missed his best opportunity to make his point.

2) If Luke-Acts is anti-Gnostic, why is not the Areopagus incident (Acts 17), which with its unknown god is so inviting to such treatment, described as an apostolic encounter with Gnosticism? Here again it would seem that Luke has missed a fine opportunity to make a defense against Gnosis if this really was his purpose.

3) If Luke-Acts is anti-Gnostic, why is there no reference to a Gnostic problem in the Pauline churches such as we know from Paul's letters, for example, the Corinthian correspondence? Here again, if Luke's purpose was to defend against Gnosticism, he appears to have missed a key opportunity to appeal to apostolic precedent.

4) If Luke-Acts is anti-Gnostic, why are there no mythological overtones in the various problems of the apostolic age described in Acts?

In the final analysis, each of these questions is concerned with the problem of silence. Why does Luke remain silent about Gnosticism in the apostolic age? How can the silence of Acts be explained without denying the anti-Gnostic aim of its author? Here is perhaps the most serious problem with which our thesis is confronted. Part of the difficulty lies in the uncertainty of any argument from silence. Yet we must offer some rationale for the Lucan silence, hypothetical though it may be.

In a treatise against heresy written not far from A.D. 200, Tertullian stated his two key principles of defense.[29] First, in the Lord's apostles we possess our authority.[30] Second, since truth precedes its copy, the Christian system existed prior to heresy.[31] The question before us is: how would a Christian write the history of the apostolic age if he started from the two axioms voiced by Tertullian? Would it not be natural for his narrative to take the form of a description of an ideal apostolic age in which the ancient truth was held to firmly by all so that a unity of witness prevailed? In this way the first axiom could be concretized. The apostolic authority would be seen in action in all of its pristine purity. Moreover, would it not be natural for our author to present heresy as a post-apostolic phenomenon? The apostolic age would contain only prophetic predictions by the apostles of the distortions of truth to come. In this way the second axiom would be concretized. In clear, bold lines the existence of heresy would be shown to be subsequent to that of Christian truth.

We know that Luke most certainly did subscribe to the first axiom voiced by Tertullian. The three Lucan motifs examined in Chapter Four demonstrate this admirably. For Luke, the Church's authority resides in the apostles. If we assume, moreover, that Luke operates out of the second axiom voiced by Tertullian, we go a long way towards finding an explanation for Luke's perplexing silence. If Luke wrote Acts, working out of the assumption that Christian truth, which was apostolic, preceded heresy, which was an adulteration of things apostolic, so that he schematized the history of the apostolic age, allowing heresy no place in it, it is possible to explain why there is no record of a Pauline conflict with Gnosticism such as we know from Paul's letters.[32] It is also possible to explain why Simon is not described as a Gnostic, why the Areopagus incident has no Gnostic cast, and why no mythological overtones are found in the problems described in Acts. In each case the silence may be explained as due to the assumptions which govern the author's description of the apostolic age. Truth is apostolic. Truth preceded heresy. The apostolic age, therefore, preceded the age of error.[33] While such an explanation cannot be proved absolutely, it does offer a solution for the

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[29] The Prescription against Heretics.
[30] Ibid., pp. VI, XX, XXI,
[31] Ibid., pp. XXIX; XXX; XXXI; XXXII; XXXV.

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[32] Could this explain why Acts makes no mention of Paul as a letter writer?

[33] Hegesippus (Eusebius, op. cit., III:32) is reported to have held to a form of this theory. This would push a date for it back nearer the middle of the second century. Jude 17-18 comes nearest to reflecting this theory in the New Testament literature. If it does, it would probably push the date back near that of Luke-Acts.

Lucan silence in terms of an early Catholic theory of defense against Gnosticism. It is, therefore, worthy of serious consideration.[34]

The third category may also be stated in the form of a question. Can the Gnosticism deduced from our examination of Luke-Acts be identified with any such Christian heresy known from other sources?

From our investigation, what picture can we get of the Gnosticism deduced from the Lucan writings? The picture that we can draw is extremely sketchy. Essentially four tenets of this Gnosis can be discerned. The matter about which we can be most certain is that these Gnostics were docetic. They denied the humanity of the Savior. The points at issue appear to have been the birth, the baptism with its descent of the Spirit, the sufferings, the death, burial, empty tomb, physical appearances, and corporeal ascension of Jesus. A second matter about which there is also some degree of certainty is their outright denial or their erroneous interpretation of the Old Testament. Of these alternatives it is perhaps more probable that they appealed to the Old Testament for their doctrines. A third part of this Gnosis was a denial of a general resurrection. This may have been argued on the grounds of the delay in Jesus' return or on the grounds that one's enlightenment was his resurrection. Perhaps both tendencies were present. Probably a fourth part of the Gnosticism which Luke was combatting consisted of the use of circumcision as an initiation rite. Beyond these four tenets of the Gnosticism facing Luke, however, we know little of his problem. About all that we can say beyond this is that such a heresy existed in the Aegean basin near the end of the first century.

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[34] I am indebted to Dr. Keck for this suggestion. Once it has been made, however, we are faced with another problem. If Luke did not show Paul and the other apostles in tension with Gnosticism because of his theory that the apostolic age was free from heresy, why did he picture the apostles in the situations that he did? If Luke wrote for a post-apostolic church disturbed by heresy, he would need some sort of apostolic guidance for his situation. After all the first axiom out of which he works is that of apostolic authority. Here we can see a tension between the two axioms. He needs apostolic authority for guidance in the midst of heresy but his schematic portrayal of the apostolic age precludes the existence of heresy. What can he do? He can picture the apostles in various situations other than that of heresy in which they can demonstrate how an apostle responded to various elements that later belonged to heresy. He can also picture the apostles in various situations in which they can demonstrate that rejection of heresy does not mean rejection of everything in the non-Christian world.

Of all the known Christian heresies of this time and geographical locale, the Gnosis reflected in the Pastorals is probably the closest to our picture of the problem Luke faced.[35] The Gnostics of the Pastorals apparently had a docetic Christology (II Timothy 2:8;

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[35] See pp. 245-46.

I Timothy 3:16; 2:16). Moreover, they denied the resurrection, or at least held it was already past (II Timothy 2:18). They seemed to base their arguments upon an exegesis of the Old Testament (I Timothy 1:7; Titus 3:9). Possibly they advocated circumcision as an initiation rite (Titus 1:10). In these four tenets, therefore, there is a remarkable similarity between the Gnosis of the Pastorals and the problem faced by Luke.[36] We may say then that since the Gnosticism reflected in the Pastorals and in Luke-Acts is so similar, it may possibly be the same type of heresy reflected in each case.

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[36] Several of the other tenets of the Gnosticism reflected in the Pastorals are not alien to certain Lucan emphases: (1) everything created by God is good (I Tim. 4:1-5; Lk. 11:41 and Acts 10:28), (2) the love of money is the root of all kinds of evil (I Tim. 6:10; the Lucan motif mentioned in n. 28).

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